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ARE OUR SCHOOL HISTORIES ANGLOPHOBE?

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THE man who said that he would allow others to make the laws of a nation if he might be allowed to make the ballads ought to have bargained for the making of the school histories as well.

Mr. Chauncey Depew, who generally knows what he is talking about, predicts that there will some day be a war between the United States and Great Britain, and among the sources of the ill-feeling of Americans towards Great Britain, of which that war is to be the result, he gives a prominent place to the school histories. Mr. Samuel Plimsoll agrees with Mr. Depew in thinking that much ill-feeling towards England has been engendered by these books, and is anxious to counteract their influence. The Governor-General of Canada, in a recent speech, also accused the American school histories of being enemies to international good will. So does the writer of a lively little work on *The Land of the Dollar*. This writer quotes in proof of his assertion a passage from one of the histories which is unquestionably venomous. He, however, picked up the book in a second-hand store; he does not give its date, nor does it appear that he enquired whether it was in actual or extensive circulation. He tells us that he bought an armful of the books, but he quotes from only one.

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My own impression had been that the acrimony of the American school histories in speaking of Great Britain and their unfairness in treating questions between Great Britain and the United States were, as well as the anti-British violence of Fourth-of-July orations, rather things of the past. I, however, requested a leading publisher of New York, an Englishman, and representative of an English firm, to send me the school histories which were most in use. He sent me three, those of Higginson (1875), Anderson (1874), and Quackenbos (1857). These I have examined, and I must confess that I do not find in any one of them aught of which an Englishman could seriously complain. They are patriotic, of course; and in the quarrel between Great Britain and America take the American side; but they certainly are not venomous, nor should I say that they were wilfully or even materially unfair. Here are specimens of their tone in dealing with the American Revolution:

"There were some reasons why it seemed just that the Americans should be taxed. The debt of the British government was very great, and part of this debt had been incurred in defending the American colonies from the French and Indians. So it seemed fair that these colonies should help to pay it; and probably they would not have objected if they had been represented in the British government, so they could at least have had a voice in deciding what their taxes should be. But this was not allowed; and so, when the famous 'Stamp Act' was passed, in 1765, the popular indignation was very great.

"There was nothing very bad about the law called the 'Stamp Act' in itself, and Englishmen would not have complained of it at home. This famous act required only that all deeds and receipts, and other legal ocumets, should be written or printed on stamped paper, and that this paper should be sold by the tax collectors, the money going to the government. It was such a law as has always existed in England; and, indeed, taxes have since been imposed in a similar way in America. The colonists objected to it only because it involved a principle. No matter how trifling the tax might be they objected to it. They said the British government had no right to put this or any other tax upon them when they were not represented in the government. 'No taxation without representation' was a phrase constantly heard in the colonies in those days; and the excitement about the Stamp Act was the real beginning of the Revolutionary War."—Higginson, pp. 161-2.

About the Tories Higginson's history says:

"Then we must remember that there were other men, and often good men, too, who felt very sad about all this, and who thought it was very wrong to resist King George, and that it would ruin the colonies even to attempt such a thing; and who tried, with tears in their eyes, to persuade the patriots to listen to reason. These were generally the rich and prosperous men, and those who held offices under the British government; in

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short, the people who had most to lose by war in any case. These men were called Tories in those days, and grew more and more unpopular." Pp. 176-77.

Anderson in the section on the causes of the Revolutionary War says:

"The expenses which Great Britain had incurred in the French and Indian War greatly increased her national debt. The English ministry, asserting that this had been done in defending their American possessions, proposed to lessen the burden by taxing the colonies. In connection with the proposition thus made it was affirmed that the right to tax the colonies was inherent in Parliament.

"On the other hand, it was maintained that the colonies had been founded at their own expense, and that, while they had already contributed their full proportion in defending themselves, the advantages resulting from their preservation were shared by England in common with themselves. The colonists also maintained that they could be justly taxed only by a legislature in which they were represented. Inasmuch, then, as they were not allowed to send representatives to the British Parliament, that body had no right to tax them.

"Besides, the policy of Great Britain towards her colonies had been for years unjust and illiberal, and calculated to incite a rebellious spirit. The Navigation Act, previously described, and the issuing of 'Writs of Assistance,' in 1761, were measures which were loudly complained of. The 'writs' were general search-warrants empowering custom-house officers to break open ships, stores, and private dwellings, in search of merchandise on which it was suspected no duty had been paid." Pp. 65-66.

Quackenbos is perhaps rather more bitter. He says:

"The people of America were descendants of men who had fled from oppression, and braved the hardships of the wilderness for the blessings of civil and religious liberty. They had endured incredible sufferings, and through their own unaided industry had at last prospered and grown strong. When poor and feeble they had been neglected by the mother country; as soon as they became worth governing Britain sent them governors; and now that they were growing rich, she sought to increase her revenue by taxing them. A pretext was not wanting. Heavy expenses had been incurred by the home government for the protection of the colonies in the French and Indian War; and these, it was claimed, should be reimbursed. The commanders sent over had been generally incompetent, and much of their success was due to the colonial troops and officers who served under them. Yet the Americans would not have objected to contributing their share had they been allowed a voice in laying the tax or recting how it should be appropriated. Having no representatives in Parliament, however, they claimed that Parliament had no right to tax them. The ministers of George II. had not only asserted the right, but exercised it by laying duties on various imported articles. The question was freely discussed throughout America, and everywhere a unanimous voice rose from the people that taxation without representation was unjust and intolerable. The law imposing obnoxious duties was declared unconstitutional and oppressive. In New England it was constantly evaded by secretly conveying the taxable articles ashore and concealing them from the collectors. To

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put a stop to this practice, on the accession of George III. in 1760, edicts were issued commanding all sheriffs and constables to aid the collectors when called upon in breaking open and searching cellars, houses, or vessels that were suspected of containing concealed goods." Pp. 188-9.

On reference to a friend thoroughly cognizant of the subject, I was told that Higginson, Anderson, and Quackenbos were favorable specimens, and that there were other school histories in which more of anti-British feeling would be found. My friend has been so good as to send me a series of extracts. Even in these I really find nothing that I should say was intended to stimulate hatred of Great Britain, and I find generally a desire at all events to be fair. Mrs. Lee's history (1895) says of the Boston massacre :

"Boston showed so resolute a spirit to resist the revenue laws that, in 1770, a collision took place between the citizens and British soldiers quartered there to enforce the laws, in which two Bostonians were killed and others mortally wounded. The news of this 'Boston massacre,' as it was called, spread all over the country, and everywhere stirred up strong feelings of resistance to British tyranny. But, in fact, the soldiers only fired into the mob to preserve their own lives, and were not very much to blame." . . .

Russell (1837) discusses the question of resistance to tyranny calmly enough, saying that:

"Before the principle is called into action, it should be determined whether the good which is expected from resistance will counterbalance the evils of insurrection when order is destroyed and liberty degenerates into licentiousness; and it should not be forgotten that the evils of insurrection are certain and imminent while the good which is expected from resistance is probable and remote."

Swinton (1871), explaining the real cause of the Revolution, says :

"The attachment of the American Colonies to the 'mother country' was never stronger than at the close of the French War. The colonists were proud of being descended from British ancestors, and gloried in sharing the rights of subjects of England. The trials and triumphs of the French wars made colonists and Englishmen feel more than ever like brothers. It is true the colonists had some grievances. The English 'navigation laws' and 'trade monopoly' bore heavily on the industry, commerce, and manufactures of the Colonies. These grievances made *some* dissatisfaction, but not a great deal. In all other respects America might well be satisfied to be under the government of England. This being the case, the important question arises: How was it that the Colonies began a revolt which resulted in their *independence?* The usual answer is, that the attempt of England to *impose taxes* upon the American Colonies without their consent was the cause of the Revolutionary War. This is *true* in part only. The imposition of taxes was the *occasion* of the revolt of the

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colonies; but its *cause* was that the whole history of the American Colonies *meant* independence. Providence so designed it."

Grimshaw (1822) is hostile, yet he pays an emphatic tribute to the character of Carleton.

One of the most exceptionable is Guernsey's, but it was published in 1849. As a rule, though not invariably, it will be found, so far as the specimens before me are concerned, the acrimony and the space allotted to the incidents of the Revolutionary War diminished with the increase in the distance of the date of publication from that event.*

It could hardly be expected that in giving an account of the quarrel between the British government and the colonies, American writers would be less severe in condemning the acts of the British government or less favorable to their own cause than were Chatham, Fox, Burke and Barré.

A large, and what appears a disproportionate, space is given, perhaps even in the later histories, to the Revolutionary War, and the details of that war, some of which, of course, are exasperating, since the royal armies unquestionably committed excesses, are narrated with disagreeable minuteness. But it is not necessary to ascribe this to deliberate malice. The Revolutionary War does, in fact, fill rather a large space in the comparatively brief annals of the United States. Its chief actors are the national heroes and the national types of patriotic virtue. Its incidents, or those of the war of 1812, are about the only matter by which an ungifted American writer can hope to enliven his work and appeal to the imagination of young readers. It is not in American school histories alone that a disproportionate space is occupied by the annals of war. Thirst of martial glory is nowhere extinct, and nothing is so picturesque as a battle. It is not easy to present in a form interesting to a child a series of political events and characters, the issues between Jefferson and Hamilton, the struggle between Adams and Jackson, or even the political contest with slavery. Nor can an ordinary writer lend picturesqueness to the progress of social improvement, of commerce, or of invention.

*The following table has been furnished me: Grimshaw, 1822, devotes one-third of his space to the Revolution; Russell, 1837, one-third; Goodrich, edition used, published about 1881, one-fifth; Guernsey, 1849, one-third; Lossing, 1860, one-third; Holmes, 1870, one-fifth; Swinton, 1871, one-sixth; Barnes, 1871, 1885, etc., one-seventh; Stephens, 1875, one-seventh; Johnson, 1885, one-ninth; Montgomery, 1890, one-eighth; Shinn, 1895, one-seventh; Lee, 1895, one-seventh; Cooper, Estill, and Lemmon, 1895, one-eighth.

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It unluckily happens that Great Britain is the only foreign nation with which the Americans have waged wars whereof they have much reason to be proud, for few would deem victory over such enemies as the Mexicans very glorious, even if that war had not been waged in the special interest of slavery. All the American trophies before 1861 were trophies of success over the British. The North has now another set of trophies. But the enemy in this case was not foreign, at least was not regarded as foreign, though the war was in its real character international. The writers of school histories, if they intend their work for the whole Union, though they may themselves be free from bias, will have now a perplexing task, and it is not surprising to hear that in the South there is a demand for histories written from the Southern point of view. To write from an impartial point of view would be difficult enough even for a foreigner, if he had any strong feeling about slavery, but for a native either of North or South almost impossible. The impossible, however, is sometimes done.

Sensible Englishmen and Americans must now be pretty well agreed about the rights of the quarrel between the British government and the American colonies. The political connection between the mother country and a colony capable of self-government, like the American colonies of Great Britain, was fraught with misunderstanding. The colony had better, like the Hellenic colony, have taken the sacred fire from the altar-hearth of the mother country and made its own way in the world, retaining a sentimental and honorary connection with its parent. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the American colonies needed the protection of the mother country against France, though we can hardly tell what exertions, had they been left to themselves, they might have made for their own defence, or how far reliance on Imperial help interfered with their self-help and masked from them the necessity of union. But as soon as an end was put to the need of protection by the conquest of French Canada, the natural tendency to separation prevailed, with all the more certainty as there were in the colonies political elements, Puritan and Presbyterian, antagonistic to the British institutions of monarchy, aristocracy, and church establishment. Nobody can imagine it possible that the colonies, with all their present millions of people, should forever have remained

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dependencies and in allegiance to an old-world government and a parliament on the other side of the Atlantic. Once recognizing as inevitable the dissolution of the bond, we may all treat with historical dispassionateness the particular instrumentalities by which it was brought about, and calmly apportion the due measures of blame or praise to all concerned, considering that they were, as nearly as free agents could be, the ministers of Fate.

There can hardly be a greater literary offence than the infusion, through a school history, of false notions, unworthy prejudices and base passions into the hearts of youth. In the Report of the Commissioners of Education for 1894-95 there is a series of specimens of the methods of teaching American history in British school books. An Englishman reading these extracts is glad to find that they are laudably free from prejudice or passion; that they state the facts fairly; that they do not shrink from laying blame, when it is due, on the British government, or even on the British people; and award just praise to opponents. One of them says:

"The chief causes of this long and disastrous conflict are to be sought in the high notions of prerogative held by George III., his infatuated and stubborn self-will, and in the equally absurd self-conceit of his English subjects."

The same book says:

"The descendants of the old soldiers of the Parliament began to repeat the grand lesson of the long struggle of their English forefathers against the crown, and 'Taxation without representation is tyranny' became the watchword of the brave patriots who were to fight in America for the self-same rights that the Englishmen of old had wrung from the tyrant John, the haughty Edward, and the reluctant Charles I."

Washington deprecated the indulgence of inveterate antipathies to particular nations or passionate attachments to others, which, as he said, made a nation a slave to its antipathies and attachments. Aristotle two thousand years before had expressed the same sentiment in a general way, saying that it was slavish to be always acting with another person in one's eye. It makes that other person the arbiter of your feelings and actions, whether the case be one of unreasoning devotion or of passionate enmity. Moreover, with irrational and inveterate hatred a mixture of envy may generally be traced.

"I am not wanting in love of the New, but I own that I am wanting in hatred of the Old." So said a citizen of one of the

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American colonies of Spain the other day, when he was asked to curse his ancient mother country. Great Britain was a far better mother country than Spain, and every one who has a glimmer of historic sense must know that the Old had to be before the New could come into being.

To say that the school histories ought not to be patriotic would be wrong. But patriotism may be awakened without unduly dilating on the details of the revolutionary war. It may be kept alive by setting forth the magnitude and importance of the victory gained, the new departure of humanity, political and social, the hopes of the New World, and the part in the fulfilment of those hopes which the American child when it comes to manhood will be called upon to play.

On the whole, however, I am confirmed in my belief that the influence of the American books in stimulating international ill-will has been overstated. It is too likely that if Great Britain persists in maintaining herself as a political and military power upon this continent Mr. Chauncey Depew's prediction will be fulfilled. But I cannot think that the catastrophe will be due to so great an extent as he and others suppose to the vicious influence of American school histories.

The special fault which, if I may venture to say it, I should be inclined to find with these books, is want of literary art. The writers may have thought that literary art would be wasted upon histories for children. At all events they have not bestowed it. The language is generally flat, and the story is not well told. It is partly, perhaps, by lack of descriptive power that the writers are driven to give so much space to war. If they were artists they might find a way of lending interest to the events in the achievements of peace. To tell a story well, so that it may impress the imagination and fix itself in the memory of the reader, the writer must have distinctly conceived it as a whole in his own mind. This is what masters of narrative have evidently done. Freshness, simplicity, and vividness of language—without turgidity or grandiloquence—are also indispensable in a narrative intended for the young. If any American would compose a school history combining these literary qualities with truthfulness, impartiality, and freedom from low passions, he might render no small service to the nation.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

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THE RIGHT OF CONTRACT.

BY F. B. THURBER.

THE tendency of legislative and judicial bodies in this country just now to condemn sweepingly contracts which in any manner restrict or regulate trade makes it interesting and timely to inquire into the causes and reasons for this tendency, and to consider whether regulation of trade is "restraint of trade" in a legal sense.

Commerce is nothing but a body of contracts. Every purchase and sale, from a peanut up to a gold mine, and every transaction in the movement of merchandise, involves a contract either verbal, written, or implied between buyer and seller or between shipper and carrier.

No right is more sacred, and none has been more carefully guarded in our fundamental law. The Constitution of the United States, article 1, section 10, says: "No State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts." And yet the Congress of the United States prohibited pooling agreements between railroads and passed the so-called Sherman anti-trust law which declares *every* contract in restraint of trade illegal, and the Supreme Court of the United States in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case took the extreme view (by the narrow majority of five to four judges) that even a necessary agreement between carriers for establishing and maintaining reasonable rates of freight was a contract in restraint of trade.

The Legislature of the great commercial State of New York, at its last session, enacted a law which provides:

"No stock corporation shall combine with any other corporation or person for the creation of a monopoly or the unlawful restraint of trade or the prevention of competition in any necessary of life. No foreign stock corporation formed by the consolidation of two or more corporations *or by the*

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combination of the business of two or more persons, firms, or corporations for the purpose of restricting or preventing competition in the supply or price of any article or commodity of common use, *or for the purpose of establishing, regulating, or controlling the supply or price thereof* shall be authorized to do business in this State."

This law was the outcome of an investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the New York Senate, which was remarkable for the bias shown against incorporated capital and the disregard of economic facts developed by the evidence. The report, among other things, denied the right of a manufacturing corporation to choose agents for the sale of its goods and fix the prices and terms upon which they should be sold.

From time immemorial it has been a common custom in trade for manufacturers to select agents to sell their goods and to fix the price and terms on which they shall be sold; also for agents to agree that in consideration of these and a certain commission or rebate they will only sell the goods of one manufacturer.

Yet a New York grand jury found an indictment against the directors of the American Tobacco Company for doing the same thing, and in the trial of the case the judge charged the jury to the effect that this was a crime.

Another phase of it is illustrated in the attempt to use the legal machinery of the State of New York to prevent a reasonable regulation of anthracite coal production to the wants of consumption—a necessary business regulation which marks the dividing line between liberty and license, between reason and unreason. The result of unregulated production is shown in the bituminous coal fields where over-production has resulted in bankruptcy to carriers, operators, and miners, with strikes, lockouts, dislocation of industry, benefit to no one, injury to everybody.

In seeking the causes of this remarkable state of the public mind the student of the question inevitably reverts to the rivalries of political parties, who in seeking partisan advantage have appealed to the prejudices of the masses; and the competition of journalism for public favor has closely followed in the same channel. During the last session of the Legislature of New York two popular journals each employed experts to prove to the Legislature that the charges of gas companies in the city of New York were exorbitant, and the leading political organizations of the State vied with each other in denouncing the modern ag-

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gregations of capital known as trusts. If the economic results of these aggregations of capital had led to the oppression of the public, this would have been justifiable; but let us see what these results have been.

While there have always been aggregations of capital to a greater or less extent, they have become more frequent and prominent since the age of steam, electricity, and machinery, because these forces could not well be utilized without aggregations of capital, which could only be obtained through the co-operation of a large number of persons. Hence the great development of corporate life during the last half century.

The first prominent development of the trust organization in this country was in the consolidation of numerous lines of railroad into trunk lines, and there was a fear in the public mind that these combinations and consolidations would result in exorbitant rates for transportation and to the detriment of the public interest. What the result has been is shown by the following extract from a report adopted by the National Board of Trade at its annual convention in 1896:

"The average charge for sending a ton of freight one mile on thirteen of the most important railroads in the United States during 1865 was 3.08 cents; in 1870, 1.80 cents; in 1875, 1.36 cents; in 1880, 1.01 cents; in 1885, 0.83 cent; in 1890, 0.77 cent; in 1893, 0.76 cent; in 1894, 0.746 cent, and in 1895, 0.720 cent. These railroads performed one-third of the entire transportation of 1893, and from the figures given it appears that 0.72 cent would pay for as much transportation over their lines in 1895 as could have been obtained for 3.08 cents thirty years earlier. This reduction, amounting to three-quarters of the average rate of 1865 was exceeded by that in price of but few even of those articles in the manufacture of which new inventions have worked the most radical changes. The entire transportation performed by the railroads of the United States during the twelve years ending June 30, 1894, was equivalent to moving 136,799,677,822 passengers and 807,935,382,838 tons of freight one mile. Had rates averaged as high as those of 1882 been collected on this traffic, the railroads would have earned $2,629,043,459 more than they actually received.

The next most prominent aggregation of capital in the commercial world is known as the Standard Oil Company, and the effect upon the price of oil is illustrated by the following statistics, compiled by the United States government, showing the wholesale export price for refined petroleum for the period extending from 1871 to 1896:

This table shows the prices of refined illuminating oils, per gallon, exported from the United States from 1871 to 1896.

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The prices represent the market value of the article at the time of exportation.

1871	25.7 cents.	1880	8.6 cents.	1889	7.8 cents.
1872	24.9 "	1881	10.3 "	1890	7.4 "
1873	23.5 "	1882	9.1 "	1891	7.0 "
1874	17.3 "	1883	8.8 "	1892	5.9 "
1875	14.1 "	1884	9.2 "	1893	4.9 "
1876	14.0 "	1885	8.7 "	1894	4.2 "
1877	21.1 "	1886	8.7 "	1895	4.9 "
1878	14.4 "	1887	7.8 "	1896	6.8 "
1879	10.8 "	1888	7.9 "		

This great decline in the price of oil is attributable partly to the increase in production, but more largely to improvements in manufacture and transportation which were only attainable through the aggregation of capital in this industry.

Among the more prominent of the recent so-called trusts is the American Sugar Refining Company, which is a corporation formed under the laws of the State of New Jersey for the purpose of consolidating the sugar refining interests of the country, and it now does about 75 per cent. of the sugar refining business in the United States. The effect of this is shown by the following table, giving the price of both raw and refined sugar, with the differing margins during the nine years prior to the consolidation and nine years since :

	Average Price. Centrifugals (Raw).	Granulated (Refined).	Difference.
1879	7.423 cents per lb.	8.785 cents per lb.	1.362
1880	8.206 " "	9.602 " "	1.396
1881	8.251 " "	9.667 " "	1.416
1882	7.797 " "	9.234 " "	1.437
1883	7.423 " "	8.506 " "	1.083
1884	5.857 " "	6.780 " "	0.923
1885	5.729 " "	6.441 " "	.712
1886	5.336 " "	6.107 " "	.781
1887	5.245 " "	6.013 " "	.768
Average nine years	6.807	7.905	1.098

The Trust was formed in 1887 :

1888	5.749 cents per lb.	7.007 cents per lb.	1.258
1889	6.433 " "	7.640 " "	1.207
1890	5.451 " "	6.171 " "	0.720
1891	3.863 " "	4.691 " "	0.828
1892	3.311 " "	4.346 " "	1.035
1893	3.689 " "	4.842 " "	1.153
1894	3.235 " "	4.119 " "	.884
1895	3.258 " "	4.140 " "	.882
1896	3.631 " "	4.539 " "	.908
Average nine years	4.291	5.272	.981

Here we see not only a large reduction in prices, but a positive reduction in the average refining margin.

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This reduction in price has been effected partly by increased production and largely through buying the raw material cheaper than when a large number of separate refiners were competing for the product. Large economies were also effected by closing inferior plants and enlarging and extending superior ones. The American Sugar Refining Co. has bought its raw material cheap, but it has given the public the benefit of such purchases, merely retaining as its profit about one-third of a cent per pound, which, considering the nature of the business, is a reasonable one.

These illustrations are but types of many in the evolution of industries which is the result of the great forces before mentioned—forces which have revolutionized the entire economic situation. That there have been instances of hardship and injustice attending this revolution cannot be doubted, but it is equally certain that the total results have been beneficial to the public at large and to the interests of the laboring classes especially, who constitute the majority. At some stages of this evolution this remark was, perhaps, not true. The action of these forces was so rapid that men were thrown out of employment faster than wants were created and industries widened. Labor, however, soon followed the example which capital had set of organization, and during the last decade the organization of labor has progressed faster than that of capital, and has forced a division of a larger share of the profits of industry for labor than at any previous period of history. In other words, the profits of capital have been steadily decreasing, while those of labor, and especially organized labor, have steadily increased. At no previous period would a dollar buy so much of the necessaries and comforts of life as at present. While this is admitted by intelligent laboring men, many of them contend that opportunities for earning a dollar have constantly diminished, and they are now seeking, by the advocacy of shorter hours for labor, to make employment for a large number of persons, and this is a worthy and beneficent aim. It is better to have a larger number of persons employed for eight hours than a smaller number of persons ten or twelve hours.

Unrest of labor in a free country is not a dangerous phenomenon, but rather a safety valve. It must not be forgotten, however, that education of the masses has created new wants, and that these wants have grown faster than the means of gratifying them. The problem should be viewed from both sides, and only what is

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reasonable should obtain. Whenever unlimited power exists it is usually accompanied by tyranny, whether of labor or capital. There are labor trusts as well as capital trusts, and in all the annals of combination there are no greater illustrations of tyranny than the attitude of some of the labor organizations toward laborers. This, however, was the inevitable outcome of organization and of the great evolution which is now going on throughout the world, under the operation of the great forces that now control the world, steam, electricity, and machinery. Under the operation of these forces the world has been growing richer. All the resources of nature are being developed. Capital has increased faster than the opportunities for its profitable employment, as is evidenced by the steadily decreasing returns of capital, or in other words, rate of interest. Formerly it seemed that combinations of capital would abrogate competition, but experience has shown that instead of abrogating competition it has elevated that force to a higher plane. If a combination of capital in any line temporarily exacts a liberal profit, capital immediately flows into that channel, another combination is formed and competition ensues on a scale and operates with an intensity far beyond anything that is possible on a smaller scale, resulting in the breaking down of the combination and the decline of profits to a minimum. A recent example of this is seen in the competition of two rival cigarette companies, where one even went so far as to invoke the criminal machinery of the courts to compel a division of the field of trade which the other occupied. The only trusts which have succeeded for any length of time have been those which have been conducted on a far-sighted basis of moderate margins of profit, relying upon a large turn over, and the economies resulting from the command of large capital intelligently administered. The truth of this is illustrated by innumerable failures in trust organizations to control prices, recent illustrations of which are the Strawboard Trust, the Starch Trust, the Wire Nail Trust and the Steel Trust. There are trusts so-called in nearly every branch of business and there is good and bad in all, but the good so far predominates that such aggregations of capital should be encouraged, accompanied by safeguards against abuses. The only additional safeguards needed are in behalf of stockholders and investors, whose interests are often sacrificed through lack of publicity. So far as

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the interest of consumers is concerned, it is amply protected now; first, by competition, and second, by the common law, which, if invoked, will nullify any contract in real restraint of trade, and under existing statutes any unreasonable combination is subject to indictment for conspiracy.

The popular hostility to trusts is due principally to lack of knowledge of their economic effects, and these are gradually becoming better known. There were just enough abuses attending their development to give an excuse for sensational journalistic and political denunciation, and this has caused undue prejudice. A great politico-economic question like this should be considered dispassionately, and all sides of it carefully investigated before conclusions are reached.

The confusion in the judicial mind regarding the aggregations of capital necessary in modern commerce is illustrated by the following extract from the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court of the United States in the trans-Missouri traffic agreement case, which first asserts that all trusts are against the public interest, and then admits the benefit of change and improvement:

"It is true the results of trusts, or combinations of that nature, may be different in different kinds of corporations, and yet they all have an essential similarity, and have been induced by motives of individual or corporate aggrandizement as against the public interest. In business or trading combinations, they may even temporarily, or perhaps permanently, reduce the price of the article traded in or manufactured, by reducing the expense inseparable from the running of many different companies for the same purpose. Trade or commerce under these circumstances may nevertheless be badly and unfortunately restrained by driving out of business the small dealers and worthy men whose lives have been spent therein, and who might be unable to readjust themselves to their altered surroundings. Mere reduction in the price of the commodity dealt in might be dearly paid for by the ruin of such a class and the absorption of control over one commodity by an all-powerful combination of capital. In any great and extended change in the manner or method of doing business it seems to be an inevitable necessity that distress, and, perhaps, ruin shall be its accompaniment in regard to some of those who were engaged in the old methods. A change from stage coaches and canal boats to railroads threw at once a large number of men out of employment; changes from hand labor to that of machinery, and from operating machinery by hand to the application of steam for such purpose, leave behind them for the time a number of men who must seek other avenues of livelihood. These are misfortunes which seem to be the necessary accompaniment of all great industrial changes. It takes time to effect a readjustment of industrial life so that those who are thrown out of their old employment, by reason of such changes as we have spoken of, may find opportunities for labor in other

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departments than those to which they have been accustomed. It is a misfortune, but yet in such cases it seems to be the inevitable accompaniment of change and improvement."

And this is still further emphasized by the minority opinion of the Court, which says :

"If there is one thing which more than another public policy requires it is that men of full age and competent understanding shall have the utmost liberty of contracting, and their contracts, when entered into freely and voluntarily, shall be held sacred and shall be enforced by courts of justice."

"The remedy intended to be accomplished by the act of Congress was to shield against the danger of contract or combination by the few against the interest of the many and to the detriment of freedom. The construction now given, I think, strikes down the interest of the many to the advantage and benefit of the few. It has been held in a case involving a combination among workmen, that such combinations are embraced in the act of Congress in question, and this view was not doubted by this Court. (*In re* Debs, 64 Fed. Rep., 724, 745–755; 158 U. S. 564.) The interpretation of the statute, therefore, which holds that reasonable agreements are within its purview, makes it embrace every peaceable organization or combination of the laborer to benefit his condition either by obtaining an increase of wages or diminution of the hours of labor. Combinations among labor for this purpose were treated as illegal under the construction of the law which included reasonable contracts within the doctrine of the invalidity of contracts or combinations in restraint of trade, and they were only held not to be embraced within that doctrine either by statutory exemption therefrom or by the progress which made reason the controlling factor on the subject. It follows that the construction which reads the rule of reason out of the statute embraces within its inhibition every contract or combination by which workingmen seek to peaceably better their condition. It is, therefore, as I see it, absolutely true to say that the construction now adopted which works out such results not only frustrates the plain purpose intended to be accomplished by Congress, but also makes the statute tend to an end never contemplated, and against the accomplishment of which its provisions were enacted."

To the average lay mind it looks as if the opinion of the minority was right and that our American courts and legislatures have been leaning over backwards in their efforts to walk straight. In Europe the rule seems to be different, as is evidenced by the celebrated Mogul Steamship case decided by the highest court in England, a clear statement of which is given in a recent pamphlet by Wm. L. Royal, Esq., of the Virginia Bar:

"Several lines of steamships traded to China all the year. The trade was unprofitable except in what is called 'tea season,' when it was very profitable. The losses of the year were made up and a profit gained by the freights on tea in 'tea season.' Another line of steamers traded to Australia all the year until 'tea season' came on, when its steamers were diverted to Hankow to get a part of the profitable tea trade. The lines which traded to

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China all the year entered, thereupon, into an agreement, called there a 'conference,' which was in all essentials one of our 'trusts' or 'pools' or 'monopolies' or 'boycotts' or 'contracts in restraint of trade,' or whatever else of the same sort can be suggested. They agreed together to divide out freights amongst themselves, and they published a notice to all merchants in China that if they would ship everything all the year by one of the conference lines, they would be allowed a rebate upon all freights at the end of the year of five per cent., and whenever one of the steamers of the Australian line came to Hankow the conference had a steamer there to underbid it on freights; so that whatever the Australian got caused it a loss. Thereupon the Australian line applied to the English courts for protection, upon the ground that this combination of many against one was contrary to the principles of our law. It is plain that the case brought up for discussion all the questions relating to pools and trusts now agitating the American mind, and these questions received a treatment in England worthy of their magnitude and scope.

"The case was tried first by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Lord Justice Fry. It was then tried by Lord Coleridge alone, and upon appeal from his decision, by Lords Justices Bowen and Fry, and Esher, Master of the Rolls, and upon appeal from them to the House of Lords, it was heard before the Lord Chancellor, Halsbury, Lord Watson, Lord Macnaghten, Lord Bramwell, Lord Morris, Lord Field, and Lord Hannen. Each decision was in favor of the conference, and every one of these twelve eminent judges, except Esher, M. R., held that the agreement was a perfectly good and valid one, according to the principles of our common law.

The guiding principle in the case was held to be the one stated. If the parties contemplated their own improvement only, it was immaterial that they contemplated injury to the Australian, or that injury to him would be the result of their acts; but if they were actuated by malice towards the Australian, then the agreement would have been a vicious one, condemned by the principles of our law. This was held to be the test in all such cases."

The idea is very admirably brought out in the opinion that was delivered in the House of Lords by Lord Field, who said:

"It follows, therefore, from this authority, and is undoubted law, not only that it is not every act causing damage to another in his trade, nor even every intentional act of such damage, which is actionable, but also that acts done by a trader in the lawful way of his business, although by the necessary results of effective competition interfering injuriously with the trade of another, are not the subject of any action.

"Of course it is otherwise, as pointed out by Lord Holt, if the acts complained of, although done in the way and under the guise of competition or other lawful right, are in themselves violent or purely malicious, or have for their ultimate object injury to another from ill-will to him, and not the pursuit of lawful rights."

Lord Hannen said, in delivering his opinion in the same case:

"I arrive at the conclusion, therefore, that the objects sought and the means used by the defendants did not exceed the limits of allowable trade

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competition, and I know of no restrictions imposed by law on competition by one trader with another with the sole object of benefiting himself.

"I consider that a different case would have arisen if the evidence had shown that the object of the defendants was a malicious one, namely, to injure the plaintiffs whether they, the defendants, should be benefited or not."

Lord Watson said, in delivering his opinion in the case:

"If the respondents' combination had been formed, not with a single view to the extension of their business and the increase of its profits, but with the main or ulterior design of effecting an unlawful object, a very different question would have arisen for the consideration of your Lordships."

Lord Justice Fry said, in delivering his opinion in the same case:

"These are, so far as I am aware, all the relevant authorities, and none of them appears to me to support the proposition that mere competition of one set of men against another man, carried on for the purpose of gain, and not of actual malice, is actionable, even though intended to drive the rival in trade away from his place of business and though that intention be carried into effect."

The Mogul steamship case finds a parallel in a recent case described in the Berlin *Tageblatt*, as follows:

"The highest court of the German empire, sitting at Leipsic, has rendered an important decision, which we summarize below, concerning combines or trusts. The decision will be of great interest to the other nations, and particularly to the United States, where trusts have come to exercise such a prominent part in commercial and industrial affairs. The court mentioned has declared emphatically that trusts and similar combines are entirely legal. The grounds upon which this decision were based were as follows: When in certain industrial pursuits the prices of products are sinking so low as to make business impossible or as to endanger the successful carrying on thereof, the crisis which necessarily follows is not only disastrous to the individual concern but also to internal affairs generally. For this reason it is in the interest of the entire state that inadequate low prices shall not prevail too long in any industrial branch. Realizing this principle, the legislative bodies have repeatedly, and only recently, undertaken to bring about an increase in the prices of certain products by the establishment of protective duties. For this reason it cannot be deemed certainly, or generally speaking, obnoxious to the interests of the community when the manufacturers of certain articles form what is called a trust with the object in view of preventing ruinous competition, and for the purpose of mitigating the downward tendency in the prices of their particular manufactures. On the contrary, such combinations can be looked upon, not only as warranted by the instinct of self-preservation, but as a measure for the interest of the whole community as well. Especially is this true in cases where prices are so low that the manufacturers of the articles are on the verge of financial disaster. For this reason the building of syndicates or trusts has been designated by a number of authorities as a means which, when properly managed, would prove extremely expedient to prevent detrimental and unwarranted over-production."

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The editor of *U. S. Consular Reports* for August, in discussing industrial centralization in Europe, says:

"Our period is distinguished by its tendency to centralization, not only in the state, but likewise in industry and commerce. Large firms are competing with small shops to such an extent that the latter are disappearing one after another. The factory has displaced the workshops. Everything is being done on a large scale; everything is becoming colossal.

"That is not all. We see now even the great factories, not finding themselves sufficiently strong alone and fearing their reciprocal competition, renouncing their own autonomy and combining among themselves; and this tendency is everywhere manifest. The French *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin calls attention to this centralization in Germany; the French consul at Glasgow mentions the same phenomenon at Glasgow.

"These facts are significant. They certainly indicate one of the tendencies—perhaps, it might be said, one of the necessities—of our epoch. It is certain that production is passing through a serious crisis. Competition has occasioned a considerable decline in prices, and in order to retain markets, certain industries have been obliged to work under unprofitable conditions. To avoid final ruin, they have agreed either to limit the production to maintain prices or to conclude complete consolidation. Hence the cartels, the syndicates for production, the associations.

"We neither approve nor blame this new procedure; we simply record it, remarking that sometimes certain laws are developed, whatever may be their consequences."

The conclusion is inevitable to any dispassionate thinker, that we are in danger in this country of going too far in condemning aggregations of capital and hampering their rights of contract in their application to modern commerce; that in this age of steam, electricity, and machinery, such aggregations are a necessity; that they result in the greatest good to the greatest number, and that while all that is unreasonable should be restrained, there is a difference between reasonable regulation and unreasonable restraint of trade, and the right of freedom of contract for labor and for capital should be fostered and not destroyed.

F. B. THURBER.

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EGYPTIAN PRISONS.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, HER MAJESTY'S INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

AMONG the many and great advantages conferred upon Egypt by the British protectorate, one of the chief is the greater security afforded to life and property by a better administration of justice. Down to 1884 the Egyptian police was ineffective, the law often a dead letter, the prisons a disgrace to humanity and civilization. Before that date the country was covered with *Zaptiehs*, or small district prisons, in which illegal imprisonment and every form of cruelty were constantly practised. It was quite easy for anyone in authority to consign a poor devil to custody. One of the first of the many salutary reforms introduced by the then newly established prison department, under the energetic Dr. Crookshank, was an exact registration of individuals received at the prison gate and the enforcement of the strict rule that no one should be admitted without an order of committal duly signed by a recognized judicial authority. Now, of course, any such outrage as illegal imprisonment is out of the question. Another form of oppression in the old days was the unconscionable delay in bringing the accused to trial. Hundreds were thus detained six or nine months, sometimes one or two years. At that time, too, there was no separation of classes; the innocent were crowded in with the guilty, children with grown men; only the females, as might be expected in a Mahometan country, were kept apart, but their numbers even then and since have always been exceedingly few.

The first step taken by Crookshank Pacha was to concentrate his prisoners in a certain number of selected prisons, such as they were, but the best that could be found. In these, twenty-one in number, strenuous efforts were made to introduce order;

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cleanliness was insisted upon, disinfectants largely used, while medical men were appointed at each place who attended daily to give medicines and move the sick into hospital. The health of the prisoners was so much improved that one per cent. of sick was the daily average, and this has been maintained, so that in the cholera epidemic last year only a few convicts died.

A good prison system could only be introduced in improved prisons, and the first created was the great convict establishment at Tourah, a village about eight miles above Cairo on the banks of the Nile, and at the foot of the great limestone quarries that have supplied the city with its building material from the earliest days. In 1885 the old military hospital at Tourah was handed over to be converted into a public works prison; a few of the wards were converted into cells and a draft of 250 convicts brought to occupy them from the arsenal at Alexandria. These proved skilful workmen, as the *fellaheen*, whether captive or free, invariably are; and with the help of a few paid stone masons they restored the half-ruined upper story of the ancient building and converted it into a satisfactory prison for 150 more. The whole 400 continued their labors and to such good purpose, demolishing, removing, cleaning, constructing new roads and approaches, that in May, 1886, an entirely new prison for 500 convicts was completed and occupied. Many forms of industry were carried on with excellent financial results, as will be seen from the following details.

All the lime for buildings was burnt in two lime kilns constructed on purpose; all the furniture and woodwork, the tables, beds, doors, were made by convict carpenters; all the ironwork, the bolts and bars for safe custody, the very leg irons, their own inalienable livery under the old Egyptian prison code, were turned out by convict blacksmiths; baskets have been manufactured in hundreds for carrying earth and stone. Nowadays the industrial labor at Tourah is of many useful kinds. New prison clothing, new boots (although these usually indispensable articles are only issued to a favored few prisoners in Egypt), the baking of bread and biscuit for home consumption or to be sent to out stations, plate laying and engine fitting, stone dressing for prison buildings, both at Tourah and elsewhere; all these are constantly in progress at Tourah. The money made in the prison provides funds for many things necessary for further development, such as tram lines, locomotives, improved tools, and machinery of all kinds.

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A visit to Tourah (and I have made several) is both interesting and instructive, showing how much can be done by an energetic and resourceful administration with very imperfect means. Money is always scarce with the Egyptian government, and it is immensely to Dr. Crookshank's credit that when he cannot get supplies from the Treasury he manufactures them somehow for himself. On the one hand, severe and strict economy is practised to the extent even of utilizing the petroleum tins for water cans and all sorts of odd purposes; on the other, a substantial profit is gained upon the stone quarried, whether for building or macadamization. The prison is as far as possible self-contained and self-supporting. It grows its own vegetables, especially the Egyptian lentils that form a staple of the diet, and its gardens are irrigated by water raised from the Nile by the *shadoof*, so familiar an object on the banks of the river, that primitive water wheel, the same to-day as in the time of Joseph and the patriarchs. It is punishment to work the *shadoof*, extra labor, but the same as forms the daily task of the free Arab cultivator. But the chief employment of the Tourah convicts is in the quarries, a couple of miles from the prison, to which the gangs proceed every morning at daylight and where they remain every day of the week but Fridays, their Sabbath, till four in the afternoon. There is no time wasted in marching to and fro. The dinner, or midday meal, is carried out to the quarries by the cooks, and after it is eaten the convicts are allowed an hour's rest in such shade as can be found in the nearly blinding heat of the dazzling white quarries. As this midday siesta is the common hour for trains passing on to the neighboring health resort of Helouan, casual observers might think that rest and refreshment formed a great part of the Egyptian convict's daily life. But that would be a grievous mistake, as I can testify after visiting the quarries at the hour of labor.

Ceaseless activity is then the rule; all around, the picks resound upon the unyielding stone; some are busy with the levers raising huge blocks, stimulated by the sing-song, monotonous chant, without which Arabs, like sailors, cannot work with any effect. The burthen of the song varies, but it is generally an appeal for divine or heavenly assistance—"Allahiteek!" "May God give it," the phrase used by the initiated to silence the otherwise too importunate beggar, or "Halimenu!" "Hali

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Elisa!" ending in an abrupt "Hah!" or "Hop!" at the moment of supreme effort. I was a little ashamed to be the cause of increasing the labors of a few; for the director of the prison, Effendi Osman Sidkey, took us up to the works in state, seated on a "trolley" which half a dozen convicts in clattering chains pushed along the train line. It was a stiff, ascending gradient, and I was glad to get permission to reward our "motive power" with a few cigarettes.

Tobacco is not forbidden in the prisons of Egypt. It is issued to convicts in the works prisons in small rations as a reward, according to the Governor's judgment. The unconvicted and civil prisoners undergoing merely detention are at liberty to purchase it. I was the witness, the cause indeed of a curious and unwonted scene in the small prison at Assiout when I visited it last year. The sale of tobacco was in progress in the prison yard, where the whole body of prisoners, a hundred and more, were at exercise. An official stood behind a small table, on which lay the little screws of tobacco for disposal, each for a few "milliems," the smallest of Egyptian coins, the fractional part of a farthing. The eagerness with which the poor prisoners eyed the precious weed excited my generosity and I bought up the whole table load, then and there, for a couple of shillings. The prisoners crowding around saw the deal and understood. Hardly had I put down the ten piastres when the whole body "rushed" the table, overset it, threw the screws of tobacco upon the ground and all hands pounced down on the scattered weed in one great struggling, scrambling, combatant medley. The tobacco was quite wasted, of course, and I have no idea who got the two-shilling piece. The *melée* was so unmanageable that it was necessary to call out the guard to drive the prisoners back into their wards. I was aghast at my indiscretion, and when I confessed it to Crookshank Pacha, on my return to Cairo, I admitted that I ought to have known better.

In this prison of Assiout, which is of comparatively recent construction, and like all I have seen in Egypt, dazzling with whitewash and scrupuously clean, there is no work done, and this is a great flaw in the management. But industrial labor is difficult to find for all hands; the prison population is constantly increasing year after year, and I shall have more to say on this directly. In some places, notably at Gizeh, near Cairo, there

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are good workshops where cotton weaving is carried out by hand looms, woollen carpets are made, towelling and cloths, with uniforms, boots, shoes, and red leather slippers, all the trades, in short, of the general population, and this without fear of that outcry against prison competition that complicates prison administration in other countries. But at Assiout there is nothing to be done but the inner service of the prison, and the bulk of the inmates lounge the whole day lazily in the yards, to be locked up at sundown until the next sunrise. They are quartered in long, narrow, and barn-like buildings, each holding from fifty to sixty. Down the centre of the room runs a raised platform, two feet high on either side, where the mats and bedding are laid at night, and on these platforms the prisoners parade for inspection, a singular spectacle of many types and varying degrees of rascality. Outside at the door the red slippers are piled high, for according to usual custom prisoners are barefooted indoors. If they do not work neither do they get rations, except bread in the case of the quite destitute. The rest are fed by their relations, who also supply clothing, such as it is, the blue *galabieh*, or long outside shift of white or blue, the drawers and shirt, most of which are in rags. It must be a dreary existence in Assiout and other prisons of the class, for the sentences are sometimes long drawn, extending from one to three years and more, to "life," or "everlasting," as my interpreter quaintly informed me.

The daily unremitting toil of Tourah must be preferable to all but the incurably idle. Yet the terror of "Tourah" is now universal up and down Egypt. It is the great "bogey" of the daily life among the lower classes, the threat held over the fractious child or misconducted donkey-boy who claims an exorbitant "bakhshish." To accuse any decent fellah of having been in Tourah is the worst sort of insult, and at once indignantly denied. When my own connection with the English prisons became known, I was generally called the Basha of the English Tourah, and my official position gained me very marked respect among a class spoilt by many thousands of annual tourists, the greedy guides and donkey-boys, the shameless vendors of sham curiosities, the importunate beggars that infest hotel entrances, swarm in villages, and make hideous the landing stages up the Nile. An old hand will best silence the persistent cry for alms, the wail of *miski* (poverty stricken), of "Halas! finish father,

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finish mother" (the ornate expression for an orphan), by talking of the "Caracol," the police station, and a promise of "Tourah" to follow.

Life in Tourah must be hard. The monotonous routine from daylight to sundown, the long nights, from early evening to next morning, thirteen or fourteen hours, caged up with forty or fifty others tainted with every vice and crime, must be a heavy burthen upon all but the absolutely debased. All the evils of "association," of herding criminals together without supervision, left to their own wicked devices, are present in the highest degree in Egyptian prisons. Now at last, however, a move is being made to provide separate cells for a certain number, and a new prison of 1,200 cells is now being built by convict labor at Tourah immediately opposite the new hospitals, and at some distance from the old prison. Much mischievous conspiracy of the worst kind will be prevented by keeping individuals apart during the idle hours of the night. It is then that disturbances are concocted and those concerted escapes of large numbers which have occurred more than once at Tourah, but have been generally abortive, ending only in bloodshed; for the black Soudanese, who form the convict guards, are expert marksmen and surely account for a large part of the fugitives.

There must be something very tempting to the untutored mind (and many of these Tourah convicts are half-wild creatures, Bedouin of the desert, true Ishmaelites, with their hands against every man, or the lowest scum of the cities), in the seeming freedom of their condition during so many hours of the day. At Tourah liberty seems within easy reach. Not a mile from the quarries are great over-hanging cliffs honey-combed with caves, deep, cavernous recesses affording secure hiding-places, and it is for these that the rush is made. Last autumn, in August, there was a serious attempt of this kind and success was achieved by some of the runaways. The hour chosen was that of the break off from labor, when the gangs, brought together in small bodies surrounded by their guards, converge on a central point, very much as may be seen on any working day at Portland or Dartmoor, and thence march home in one compact multitude to the distant prison. It is a curiously picturesque scene. The convicts, mostly fine stalwart men, their ragged dirty white robes flying to the wind, and their chains rattling, swing past two and

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two, an almost endless procession. Down below, the mighty river flowing between its belts of palm and narrow fringe of green, shines like burnished silver under the westering sun; beyond stretches the wide desert to the foot of the Pyramids, those of Sakhara at one end of the landscape, of Cheops at the other, colossal monuments of enforced labor very similar to that now surviving at Tourah.

This was the moment chosen for a general stampede. About sixty or seventy agreed to cut and run simultaneously, all towards the shelter of the hills. A few were told off to try conclusions with the armed guards, to wrest away the rifles, and thus secure both immunity from fire and the power to use the weapon in self-defence. The attempt appears to have been fairly successful at first. A few rifles were seized, and the fugitives, turning on their pursuers, made some pretty practice, during which a few of the more fortunate got away.

But now authority asserted itself. Many were shot down; the rest, overtaken, immediately surrendered. The absence of "grit," so characteristic of the race, showed itself at once, and these poor wretches, who had been bold enough to make the first rush under a hail of bullets, now squatted down on their hams, and with uplifted hands implored mercy, or declared it was all a mistake.

"Malesh! it does not matter" was their cry, then. But they no doubt found that it mattered a great deal when a few days later Nemesis overtook them in the shape of corporal punishment; for the lash, a cat of six tails, is used in the Egyptian prisons as a last resort in the maintenance of discipline and good order. It is only inflicted, however, under proper safeguards and by direct sentence of a high official. There is no "kourbash" nowadays in the prisons; no warder or guard is permitted to raise his hand against a prisoner. Tyranny and ill usage are strictly forbidden.

Escapes have happened at other places. Nowadays, when military operations are in progress on the frontier, an immense amount of good work is done by large detachments of convicts at stations high up the river. There are rough-and-ready "Tourahs" at Assouan, Wady Halfa, Korosko, Suakim, El Teb, points of considerable importance in the service of the campaign, where supplies are constantly being landed, stored, or sent forward to the front. The Egyptian prison authorities have very wisely and intelligently utilized the labor at their disposal

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to assist in unloading boats and in reshipping stores and railway plant. Already this summer the numbers at the front have been increased by the dispatch of another 300 convicts from Tourah to Wady Halfa, where they have been engaged in laying the new line in the direction of Abu Hamed, the line on which the next move ahead practically depends. The Nile above Merawi flows through the most difficult country in its whole course, the very "worst water," and no navigation in that length is possible by steamers, little or none by small boats except at high Nile, and then only by haulage. It will be necessary, therefore, to complete the railway to Abu Hamed, so that gunboats may be sent there in sections over the line, to be put together above the cataracts and then utilized in the final advance, for the river is more or less open to Berber and above to Khartoum. This line does not grow very rapidly, but at this time of writing (July) some ninety miles are laid, and if Abu Hamed can be secured, so that the work may proceed both ways, it may be finished by the end of the year.

Convicts do much good work sometimes of a superior kind. Now and again a trained handicraftsman is found who is willing to put forward his best skill, and there is always a smart man or two who will act as leader and foreman to the rest, very much as is found with convicts all over the world. One man in particular at Wady Halfa is well known as a most industrious and intelligent worker, who naturally took the foremost place and controlled and directed the efforts of his fellows. He so gained the good-will of our officers that, not knowing his antecedents, many of them strongly recommended him for release as a reward for his usefulness. But the prison authorities were unable to accede to this seemingly very justifiable request. The best of prisoners (again following experience elsewhere) was the worst of criminals. He had committed no fewer than eight murders, not, I presume, with proved malice aforethought, or he would hardly have escaped the gallows. The death penalty is not, however, inflicted very frequently in Egypt. In one case worth mentioning as illustrating the almost comical side of Egyptian justice, a man sentenced to death was held to serve a short term of imprisonment for some minor offence before he was considered ripe for execution. The short sentence completed, he was incontinently hanged.

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Last winter, when at Assouan, hundreds of convicts were engaged all day long under the windows of my hotel. Their rattling chains were the first sound I heard on early awakening; their unmelodious sing-song, as described above, was in my ears the whole day long. I could see them, mix with them, talk with them, if I chose, as they clustered around the great crane that raised the heaviest weights, locomotive, tender, boilers, from the boats moored below, or passed along in single file, backwards and forwards, between the beach and the railway station or storehouses thereby. All were in picturesque rags, all but the military prisoners, dressed in a startling uniform of bright orange; all wore the inevitable leg-irons riveted on their spare, shrunken, brown ankles. It was the custom once, as in the old French *bagnes*, to chain the convicts in couples, a long-term man newly arrived with one whose sentence had nearly expired.

This practice has now been discontinued, and each unfortunate bears his burthen alone. I noticed great ingenuity among them in preventing the basils or anclets from chafing the skin. The most effective method, employed no doubt by the most affluent, was a leather pad inserted within the iron ring; others without resources, not owning a single "milliem" in the world, used any old filthy rags or scraps of sacking they could beg or steal. Pads of this kind have been worn from time immemorial by all prisoners and captives; no doubt the galley slaves chained to the oar in classical days invented them, and they were known till quite lately in the French *bagnes* of Rochefort and Toulon by the name of *patarrasses*, which old hands manufactured and sold to the new comers. Another old fashioned device I observed among the Egyptian convicts—a short hook hanging from a waistband, which caught up one link of the irons, a simple necessity where the chain is of such length that it drags inconveniently along the ground.

The general use of fetters is not nowadays approved by civilized nations; although they are, I believe, still worn in the labor camps of the Southern States of America, and in Italy and Spain. But in Egypt they appear to be nearly indispensable for safe custody. Last year the removal of the leg irons from a number of convicts encouraged them to effect their escape. Sixteen of them at Assouan were astute enough to sham illness. It was during the cholera epidemic and they knew enough of the symptoms to

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counterfeit some of them cleverly. The medical officer in charge was soft hearted and thought it cruel that his patients should die in their chains, so he had them struck off. Within a few hours the unshackled convicts gave him leg bail and escaped from the hospital into the desert and so down the river. These very men, I believe, formed the nucleus of the band of *harami*, the robbers and brigands who terrorized the lower province for some months and were only disposed of at last by stern reprisals. The story of the burning of the brigands at Belianah has become public property, and was made the occasion of one of those virulent attacks upon British rule that often find voice under the unrestrained license of the Egyptian press. These outlaws were pursued and run into at last by the police in a house where they had barricaded themselves. It was impossible to break in, and the assailants therefore set fire to the thatched roof. The robbers used this as their private arsenal, and the fire soon ignited their cartridges with a terrific explosion, in which most of the defenders lost their lives. This practice of concealing explosives in the roof is not uncommon. When the Shayk of Derowi was arrested on a charge of conveying contraband into the Soudan, he contrived to send back a message to his wife to make away with all damaging evidence. She thought the safest way to dispose of the gunpowder stored in the house was by fire, and she also disposed, very effectually, of herself.

I was much struck at Tourah with the admirable prison hospital, which would compare favorably with any in the English prisons. It is of quite recent erection; the building is two storied, with lofty, well-ventilated wards, beds, and bedding, all in the most approved style; a well-stocked dispensary, and a fully qualified medical man in daily attendance. I went the round of the patients, who, unless too ill to rise, sit up on their beds rather like poultry roosting, and found that Arab flesh is heir to much the same ills as that of the rest of us. The complaints had mostly a familiar sound—eczema, tuberculosis (the scourge of the black prisoners from the south), ophthalmia, dysentery, and so forth. "Stone" is a malady very prevalent, and showing itself in the most aggravated form, due no doubt to the constant drinking of lime-affected water. I saw the result of some recent operations, stones of almost colossal size extracted by the prison surgeons, whose skill is evidently remarkable.

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Too much praise can hardly be accorded the Egyptian prison administration for its prompt and effective treatment of the cholera epidemic when it appeared in Egypt last year. Although the mortality was serious in the general population, the percentago of deaths was relatively small in the prisons. Out of a total of 7,954 prison inmates (this number does not include the convicts at the seat of war or on the Red Sea), there were only 116 cases and 70 deaths. In six of the prisons the disease did not appear; in others, although situated in the heart of infected towns and prisoners were being constantly received from infected districts, the cases were few. In Tourah, with a total population of 1,350, there were but 22; at Assiout, a new building with good sanitation, only 2; the average was largest at Keneh, Mansourah, and Assouan. Not a single female prisoner was attacked, an immunity attributed by Dr. Crookshank to the fact that the females in custody receive regular prison diet, while the males, except at Tourah and Ghizeh, are fed, often indifferently, by their friends outside. These excellent results were undoubtedly due to the strict isolation of the inmates of any prison in which the cholera had appeared. Whenever a case showed, the introduction of food or clothing from outside was strictly forbidden, and friends were not admitted when cholera existed in the neighborhood. Much was due, also, to the unselfish devotion of the Egyption medical staff, who were unremitting in their care, and of whom two died of the disease at their posts.

Prison systems according to the best authorities have never yet had any appreciable effect on the volume of crime in a country. That of Egypt is now excellent, but the prison population constantly increases. Prisoners are better fed, better looked after, more severely worked, and the system is seemingly more deterrent, yet year after year there are more convictions. In 1884 the total of convicts in custody was 3,578; in the following year it had increased by 1,000; ten years later the numbers had risen to 6,831, in 1894 the total was 7,336; it is now, I am told, nearly 11,000. Of course these figures have another aspect and may be said to prove greater activity in the police, with a larger measure of protection to the peaceful, law-abiding public, than obtained under the old irregular and incomplete administration of justice. It is satisfactory to hear that the Egyptian authorities have now adopted the method found most effective elsewhere in diminish-

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ing crime, that of cutting off the supply at the fountain head. A strong effort is being made to tackle the young offender. Juvenile depravity is very marked among the Arab *fellaheen*. A case may be quoted of a child named Hassan Salem, who began thieving at ten, and who by the time he was fourteen had been ten times convicted, nearly always for stealing money or clothes. There were 150 at least of these precocious criminals dispersed through the prisons, exposed to all the contaminations of prison life, willing pupils of more experienced criminals. Now, a reformatory prison for juveniles has been opened at Alexandria, where a severe discipline is tempered by useful exercises and instruction in trades.

No account of the Egyptian prisons of to-day would be complete without some reference to Dr. Crookshank, who has been at the head of the department for some fourteen years and who has just received well-merited advancement as one of the Directors or Commissioners of the Dara Sanieh Estate, which controls so many sugar factories, and from which the Khedive receives so large a revenue. Dr. Crookshank Pacha began as a surgeon in the Franco-German war and served both sides; he was then on the headquarters staff of the Turkish army during the Turko-Servian war of 1876-7, and again in the Turko-Russian war of the following year, when he took part in the famous retreat of the Turks across the Balkan under the able generalship of poor Valentine Baker. After an interval, when he was occupied in helping to organize the St. John of Jerusalem Ambulance Society, he accompanied the British Cholera Commission to Egypt in 1883 and was in charge of the Gendarmerie Cholera camp at El-Wadan. He was in the Suakim campaign of 1885, and in 1886 he took a large force of convicts to work the petroleum wells at Djebel Zeit, on the Red Sea littoral. Again, after Sir Francis Grenfell's victory at Toski, he went up with a small medical staff to tend the sick and wounded Dervishes, and the thousands of starving fugitives, mostly women and children, whom he transferred gradually to Assouan and down the river for distribution through the cities of Lower Egypt. He is a man of very broad views, energetic in organization, with rare powers of securing devoted support, and he will be much missed in the prison department.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

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CHINESE SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

BY CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.

AMONG the factors which have aided in producing industrial unrest on the Pacific Slope during past decades has been the almost unrestricted pouring in of alien races, particularly the Chinese. The question has assumed grave importance, especially in California, where almost every political contest during the past twenty years has had some bearing upon the so-called colonization of the Chinese in America and their usurpation of the industrial field of the American citizen.

While this aspect of the question has been the disturbing and dominating feature continually before the public, there is another and darker side to this alien movement, one which shows the Chinese in America to be a constant menace to law, order, and morality.

Several months ago the Chinese Consul of San Francisco waited in some state on one of the missions in that city and demanded the release of a fugitive slave, for the "honor of China and the Chinese." The representative of the Emperor was rebuffed, and he retired to advise his countryman who owned the woman by right of purchase to apply an American method known as the writ of *habeas corpus*. This was done, the woman being taken into court and fought over for several weeks, during which the world at large became aware that there existed in America a system of slavery as obnoxious and debased as could be found in any slave-dealing country of to-day. There was nothing remarkable in the action of the Consul, as the peculiar and elastic code of morals possessed by the Chinese permits slavery, recognizing it as an institution to be protected and fostered, especially in America.

The large Chinese settlement in San Francisco has made this

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traffic in human beings not merely possible, but a business followed as a means of profitable investment, under the protection and patronage of two Chinese societies, and here, in the heart of an American city, we find one of the best-organized slave marts of modern times, fostered by as motley a band of criminals as could be produced in any portion of the uncivilized world; a band numbering at least three thousand, who derive their support directly or indirectly from the sale and barter of female slaves.

The Chinese population of San Francisco is estimated at 20,000. Of these 5,000 are factory hands; 5,000 claim to be merchants; 4,000 are domestic servants; 3,000 are the criminals referred to, and 3,000 are women and children. Of the 2,500 females it is estimated with more or less accuracy that 1,000 are legitimate wives, the remaining 1,500 being slaves in the fullest sense; girls kidnapped in their homes in the Orient, brought to America by fraud and imposture, passed through the custom-house under false oaths, in fear of death or dire consequences, put up at auction before professional slave merchants, knocked down to the highest bidder, and condemned, in the majority of instances, to a life under duress in the Chinese brothels of an American city.

Such a slave the Chinese Consul referred to demanded. The woman had been sold and believed that she was a slave; but when her master attempted to sell her six-year-old child on the ground that she gave it too much care, and that it interfered with her work, she fled to one of the missions and asked for shelter and protection; there learning for the first time that she was a free woman under the laws of the United States. After a long legal contest she was returned to the charge of the Methodist mission.

A young Chinese girl, from nine to twelve years of age, in San Francisco to-day has a market value of from $150 to $500. A girl from twelve to sixteen, if attractive, is quoted on change among the high-binders, who constitute the brokers in this unique American Exchange, at from $500 to $1,500, while for girls over this age the prices range up to $3,500, which has been paid on the very good ground that such an investment will return a profit of twenty or thirty per cent.

Slavery has existed among the Chinese in California for years, and continues almost unrestricted. As these lines are written

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the courts of San Francisco are fighting over the case of a slave named Fong, who claims to have been kidnapped in China, brought to America, and sold to the highest bidder. She finally escaped to one of the missions, that has so far successfully defied her owners, and, as a result, the question of Chinese slavery will undoubtedly be thoroughly ventilated.

The investigation of this and other cases, and examination of the records of the Chinese-American missions, show that slavery of the most horrible and debased nature is being carried on wherever the Chinese have a foothold. From authoritative sources it has been learned that slaves are, as a rule, badly treated, and the court and mission records abound in citations showing gross cruelty. The slaves are of two classes—young girls, used as household drudges, and adults, held for immoral purposes by their owners, who rent or sell them.

This criminal or slave-dealing class constitutes an important element in Chinatown, and has an organized system so elaborately and cunningly devised that so far it has been impossible to stamp out the practice. It seems incredible that slavery should be boldly advocated and carried on with all the elaboration and system that characterize any successful commercial project; yet America is the principal field of the Oriental slave dealer, and San Francisco the headquarters for those engaged in the traffic. Here, on Dupont Street, until within a short time, was an apartment known as the "Queen's Room," in reality a public slave mart, where the victims were brought and exhibited to dealers and would-be purchasers. The two societies already mentioned have systematized the business in such a manner that it is a very simple process to evade the American law. The headquarters are in San Francisco, agents being stationed at Canton, Amoy, and other large Chinese cities. These, in turn, have sub-agents in the suburban districts, whose duty it is to kidnap the victims and forward them to the agent at the shipping ports, who usually consigns them to a travelling or confidential agent, whose duties lie not alone in guarding the human property, but in instructing the women so that they will be able to pass the Custom House authorities. Unfortunately the Chinese law and custom of marriage aids the kidnapper. A wife rarely sees her husband before marriage; the affair being a business arrangement, pure and simple, and the

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girl bargained for by the agent of the prospective husband. The agent of the San Francisco dealer, in the fulfilment of his duty, pretends to represent a wealthy man searching for a wife. In this guise he approaches a country girl, to whom he holds out the inducement of a rich husband at Canton. Inexperienced, her imagination excited by the picture of a life of luxury or ease drawn by the agent, she consents to accompany him to meet her husband and leaves her home never to return. Arriving at some port, the agent invents a story to the effect that the husband has been called away to another place, and has left word for her to follow. Still unsuspicious, she is shipped on an American steamer with others in charge of another agent. When far out at sea the victim usually rebels, but is quieted by the agent, who now informs her that she is in the greatest danger; that if she cannot succeed in passing the American officials at San Francisco she will be thrown into prison and subjected to torture. There is one opportunity to escape, she is told, and that is by pretending that she is a married woman returning to her husband after a visit to China. She is also given a forged certificate and a slip containing the name and address of her supposed husband in San Francisco. This story the victim is forced to learn and adhere to under threats of violence or death, and the terrified girl readily enters into the scheme to deceive the American Custom House officers, who are supposed to enforce a vigorous examination in each case; but despite this there are hundreds of illegal entries. The Hon. John H. Wise, Collector of the Port of San Francisco, in reply to a letter from the writer, said: "We have nothing to indicate the character of Chinese women who come here for the purpose of landing. Those who have come since I have had charge of this office claim to be either married women or native born. The question of the right of either to land is determined by the proof presented. If there are any prostitutes among them they would be generally found among those who claim to be native born, and we frequently hear of girls so landed being in houses of ill fame. But there is no way to reach them, because they come and land as native born, and while they can submit ample proof of nativity the government is unable to produce evidence to the contrary."

The girls who are examined before the collector for admission are valued at from $150 to $3,500, the latter sum having been

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paid in one instance ; consequently every effort is made by the consignee to bring them through the ordeal successfully. This accomplished, the girl, who, perhaps, still expects to meet her promised husband, is taken to a boarding-house, provided with a rich wardrobe and rendered as attractive as possible. She is now (or she used to be, before the place was closed by the police) conducted to the "Queen's Room," which she is told belongs to her husband and where she is to receive his friends. The girl is now really on exhibition for sale, and is critically examined by high-binders, slave-dealers, speculators, brothel keepers, and others interested in the sale. Finally a price is agreed upon and she becomes the property of some man whom she supposes to be her husband. The plot is not discovered by the credulous victim until her master hands her over to the keeper of a brothel. In four-fifths of the cases of slavery this is the method of procedure, which, it is needless to say, is invariably effective, the victim rarely if ever escaping.

A typical instance is that of a girl who was kidnapped in Canton. The Chinese agent received $185 for her, and handed her over to Gue Ka Sheng, a professional slave-dealer. Gue had no certificate, so he invoked the American law and brought the girl ashore on a writ of *habeas corpus*, where, after some controversy in the courts, she was released and spirited up the country by her master's wife, who sold her to a man for $600. Her new owner beat her persistently for "moral insubordination," or for refusing to debase herself, and, finding her rebellious, sold her to a Chinaman who agreed to marry her and pay for her on the instalment plan, which he finally did.

It might be assumed that the tribulations of this slave woman were over, but about the time of the last payment her husband made a journey to China, leaving her in the care of his brothers. The latter, in the course of time finding themselves in need of money, determined to sell their sister-in-law, but the woman made such a vigorous resistance that they were prevented from carrying out their plan. They then began systematically to beat her, so that she would run away and they could claim that she had deserted her husband. Failing in this, they hired a professional high-binder and murderer to kill her. This man fired at her once and, failing, lost his courage. Another hatchet-boy was employed to kill her, but being paid in advance he warned

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the woman and fled to China with the money. Another attempt would have been made, but at this juncture she was rescued by the Rev. N. R. Johnston and taken under the protection of the Chinese Mission in San Francisco with one child, the other, fifteen months old, having been sold by her husband's brothers despite her opposition.

The records of the missions abound in similar accounts, a series of horrors which should arouse a protest all over the land. The instance of the girl Woon Tsun illustrates the tenacity of purpose which characterizes the slave-dealer. Since the enactment of the Restriction Act it has been more difficult to introduce slaves, and girls who formerly brought but $150 are now valued at $800. The father of the girl in question had borrowed a certain sum of a slave-dealer named Kum Moh, and, being unable to liquidate the debt, gave his daughter, six years of age, as full payment. The child was discovered in one of the worst dens in the famous Bartlett Alley in San Francisco, from which she was taken by the Presbyterian Mission authorities on an order of arrest, the charge being that she was a minor in a house of ill repute. This child was valued at $1,500, and her owners began a legal contest which well demonstrated the power and influence of the society of slave-dealers. Kum Wah, through an American lawyer of ability, attempted to have the guardianship of the Presbyterian Mission superintendent set aside, and Mah Sing, a keeper of a brothel, appointed in her place. For weeks this case was fought by the Chinese slave-dealers and the Christian women of the Presbyterian Mission, the American lawyer attempting by every means to drive the latter from the court. The Chinese societies engaged in this traffic have a large fund for the prosecution of disputed cases, and aided by American lawyers and the writ of *habeas corpus* they are often successful in regaining possession of these human chattels. To fight these societies several denominations, notably the Presbyterians and Methodists, have established missions in San Francisco, where slaves are taken and every effort made to break up the nefarious practices of the slave-dealer. But the manager of one of the missions recently stated that the law was almost inoperative; that women and girls were still being bought and sold and condemned to a life of shame, and that instead of being an asylum for the oppressed, America, or that portion peopled by the

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Chinese, was as black a slave market as any the world had yet seen.

The missions of San Francisco and their managers are, naturally, the object of attack, and the high-binders and slave-dealers make every possible attempt at retaliation. Repeated efforts have been made to kidnap rescued girls, the managers threatened with death and marked by the hatchet-boys for destruction. But their good work goes on, girls and women being rescued by the law, and by force when the law is not applicable to the case.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to present adequately the full horrors of this practice of slavery, yet they should be known, and doubtless the mission authorities will tell the whole story to those interested in philanthropic work.

The life of the slave is a chapter telling of total debasement and ill treatment. The mission managers have found girls who have been burnt with red-hot irons, dragged about by the hair, and had their eyes propped open with sticks. Slaves that are resold are sold by a contract, a document which, while unfit for publication, is a most remarkable paper, showing that the sale of women is looked upon in the same light as that of the lowest animals. At the present time every effort is being made to suppress this traffic, but under the existing law little can be expected. The women are brought in boldly on forged certificates or false oaths of their nativity, smuggled in at the Mexican and Canadian borders, and without some extraordinary effort slavery will continue uninterrupted on American soil.

CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER.

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"THE LESSER MAN."

BY G. G. BUCKLER.

"Woman is the lesser man, and all thy passions matched with mine
Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine."

Of all the opposition which new womanhood has had to encounter, perhaps the most formidable, because the most epigrammatically expressed, has been that of the poet Tennyson. His famous passage in the "Princess" has moved, if not convinced, thousands of readers, and the often-quoted comparison between man and woman in "Locksley Hall" is now taken as a heading, because it may truly be said to go straight to the heart of the woman question. This great subject, which almost since the world began has been calling forth a steady stream of learning, wit, eloquence, or bitterness, has been of recent years so thoroughly canvassed that no new view could even be attempted. It is therefore merely proposed here to state as shortly as possible the various aspects of the controversy, and the practical treatment hitherto given to each.

It may fairly be said that the whole subject of woman's powers groups itself round four questions:

(1.) Is woman mentally and bodily fitted to engage in the higher branches of literature, science, and art?

(2.) Is it for the good of the community that she should engage in these higher branches?

(3.) Has she ever produced, or is she likely to produce, anything first-rate in these higher branches?—a question leading to the fourth and final one,

(4.) What is woman's proper sphere?

These four great problems in their turn resolve themselves, the first into a question of physiology, the second into a question of ethics or rather of sentiment, and the third and fourth into

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questions of historic fact on the one side and individual opinion on the other. In order to deal with the whole subject fairly, each point must be taken up in order.

(1.) Has woman adequate sinews and adequate brains? The first part of this enquiry, relating to physical strength, would seem to have been satisfactorily answered by the statistics proving the excellent health of college students and other workers, apart from the fact that few intellectual callings need special force of muscle. The second question has met with more varied and conflicting responses. From the two physical facts, that the female brain is different in shape and inferior in absolute though not in relative weight to the male, and that these divergencies increase with the development of the individual or the race, diametrically opposite inferences have been drawn. The progressive party base on them their assertion that weight of brain is no test, enforcing their argument by pointing to the massive skulls of elephants, or the inequality in this respect of two equally intellectual male brains, and insist that such physical differences are merely accidental. Their opponents, on the other hand, see in these conjoined facts the clearest proof that the proper tendency of evolution is to put man increasingly above woman in the sphere of mind. Even the question of a woman's capacity to learn, no less than that of her fitness to achieve, has met with widely different answers from various competent authorities, and whereas one pronounces her unable to amass knowledge like an adult man, a second bravely asserts that "there is absolutely no difference in the average intellectual capacity of the sexes," while a third goes so far as to wish that young men would learn from young women how to learn.

(2.) Such being the diversity of opinion, it would be an easy solution to give woman the benefit of the doubt and let her test her fitness by actual experiment, were it not for the second and ethical question—the effect on the community. Public sentiment has indeed led the question of higher education for women through many curious phases, and there has hardly been an age when the subject has not been discussed. The cultivated Athenians held up as an ideal before their wives and sisters and daughters to stay at home and keep silence and to be least spoken of among men. Hating clever women, as Euripides frankly

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admits, they tolerated female learning and art only among the foreign courtesans. Plato, indeed, dreamed in his ideal Republic of women trained with men in gymnastics and music, and declared that "the gifts of nature are equally diffused in both sexes, and all the pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also," but the small effect produced by his teaching and that of Aristotle after him can be best estimated when we remember the terrible fate of the learned Hypatia even in late Alexandrian days. The just-minded Romans were notoriously repressive to their womankind, and when we turn to Oriental races we find a prevalent contempt for the sex as rational beings. Christianity, teaching of God born of a human mother, opened a new era of respect and esteem for women, and their position was further improved by the rise in Europe of the Teutonic tribes, who revered them, and of the age of chivalry, which exalted them even to absurd pre-eminence. Of all this the worship of the Virgin Mary was one symptom; the splendor and importance of nunneries was another. In the Middle Ages women in their own homes were kept severely in hand, but among the nuns freedom reigned, and learning was accordingly cultivated to a surprising extent. Their course of study was identical with that of the monks, embracing profane as well as Christian literature, medicine as then understood, and the arts of the copyist and missal-painter. Chaucer's Abbess, with her bad French and excellence only in table manners, is no fair specimen. It was no uncommon thing to find a nun composing verse, or writing learnedly of drugs and simples, and the names of Hrotsvitha and Herrad will always be famous, the first for her Latin plays in imitation of Terence, and the second for her attempted Encyclopedia.

The causes for the decline of feminine culture, at the very period of the Renaissance, when masculine culture took, as it were, a fresh lease of life, were manifold, but it will be enough to mention two. The spread of the feudal system gradually debarred the nunneries from holding land and thus deprived them of much political and social importance, while the laxity of tone at the rising universities kept women from sharing in their privileges with the promising pupils sent thither by the monasteries, and a growing feeling that a study of anatomy was essential closed to them on the same moral or fastidious grounds all avenues of art. As the convents declined as centres of learning, so

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necessarily did feminine culture in all its branches, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was only rich women who could study at all. Boys could go to free schools and then to universities, but girls had to study expensively at home under the chaplain or visiting tutors, or at the even more costly private schools, such as the singularly ambitious one kept by Mrs. Makin, formerly governess to the daughter of Charles I. The account given by Pepys of his difficulties in teaching his wife arithmetic speaks for itself, and Queen Elizabeth was considered an infant prodigy because at nine she could read and write.

It must be remembered that Luther's emphatic assertion of marriage as the only true feminine vocation tended to aggravate this state of things in Protestant countries. In Catholic Italy, France, and Spain we find not only women writers and artists, but even female professors of rhetoric, Greek, Latin, natural philosophy, and mathematics, while in France particularly the ladies of the *salons* exercised an incalculable influence on literature, philosophy, and politics. With regard to the woman question in its later developments, it is curious how soon Spain began to retrograde. Even in the 18th century we learn that Spanish girls were not taught their alphabets for fear they might correspond secretly with their sweethearts, and at the present day not only is all feminine study at universities forbidden as in Austria by law, but there is among the women little opportunity and still less desire for any intellectual occupation other than literature or journalism. France and Italy, on the other hand, have been consistently moderate if not progressive. In France the first prize given for eloquence at the newly instituted Academy was awarded to Mlle. de Scudéry, and in our days the admission of women to university study has been most pacifically accomplished, indeed welcomed by the Republican government as an offset to conventual education. In Italy we find Laura Bassi gaining a doctor's degree at Bologna as early as 1752, and a chair in the same university is now held by a woman, while the whole question of higher education for women may be said to have been thoroughly threshed out at Padua in 1723. On that occasion a certain Professor Camposampiero claimed for the weaker sex those opportunities which in his opinion the stronger only monopolized from mean and tyrannical motives; Professor Volpi deprecated the physical and mental fatigue of study for

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women, as tending to check marriage or make insubordinate wives, and as making those who indulged in it "ill, weary, and contrary;" and the President concluded, without deciding, the discussion by reminding the assembly of Plato's aphorism that women were not all alike.

Turning to the history of higher education in England, we find that she has mightily advanced from her position in the days of Pepys, or even 150 years ago, when Dr. Johnson could say that among women "any acquaintance with books was distinguished only to be censured," and could himself, though a champion of progressive views, pronounce feminine painting of portraits impossible, on the ground that it would be "highly indelicate for a female" to gaze into the face of a male sitter. The new era may be said to date from Mary Godwin's "Vindication of the Rights of Women," published in 1791, and followed not many years later by Sydney Smith's liberal and trenchant essays. His arguments may still be cited as the basis of the modern woman's plea, proving as they do that feminine education tends to deepen every mother's influence on her children, to elevate marriage into a higher form of companionship, and to assist public morals by giving the wife an influence independent of mere youth and beauty. The leaven of this new idea was, however, slow in operation, and when higher education for women became an actual fact, the honor must be given not to Old England but to the New.

Of all branches of feminine learning, medicine has probably been the most discussed. In all ages women have compounded drugs, and from mediæval nuns down to Florence Nightingale there has been no lack of female nurses; but regular women doctors are an outcome of recent times. To the well-worn arguments of the overtaxing or unsexing effect on women of medical work, it is only fair to oppose the actual results of experience on the one hand, and on the other, the reminder that the argument of delicacy works both ways, so that in the seventeenth century a "man midwife" was regarded as no less unsexed than a "woman doctor" in the early days of the nineteenth. As far as facts are concerned, it is perhaps unnecessary to state that the first woman doctor, Miss Elizabeth Blackwell, after struggling for many years against straitened circumstances and persistent opposition, at length graduated from the Medical Col-

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lege of Geneva, N. Y., in the year 1849. That same year Boston started a special medical college for women, and in 1863 and 1864 Paris and Zurich opened their doors to feminine students of medicine, but it was not till 1865 that the first Englishwoman, Miss Garrett (now Dr. Garrett Anderson), succeeded in forcing the London Society of Apothecaries to grant her a doctor's certificate. After this, opposition was slowly conquered in England, and in 1893 we find there 8 medical schools for women, several important institutions carried on entirely by women, and 6 degree-giving bodies willing to examine and certificate feminine applicants —though even now English women as physicians and surgeons number little more than 100, against 4,555 in the United States. In Russia the history of medical education has been even more curious. In 1862 Mme. Souslowa obtained leave to study medicine in St. Petersburg, and worked undisturbed for two years. Suddenly there was issued an ukase closing all university doors to female students, and alleging that "women did better as such when they knew nothing and understood nothing." Yet when Mme. Souslowa had graduated at Zurich, she was allowed to practise medicine at home, and at this moment there are not only numbers of Russian students at the medical schools in Paris and elsewhere, but actually from 700 to 800 women graduates of foreign universities practising in Russia itself. In Germany, where all universities are professedly closed to women, no woman can practice medicine without special authorization, and the state of affairs is even more retrograde in Austria and Spain. Of all spheres open to women doctors, perhaps the largest is that in India among its secluded ladies, but there the climate, the poor pay, and the prevalent distrust of medical aid present peculiar difficulties, which can probably be best solved by the increasing study of medicine in England and elsewhere by native Indian women.

In other branches of higher education, America again takes the lead. Vassar College was founded in 1865, four years before Girton, the first English institution of the kind. Since then, the doors of the greater proportion of universities, both in the United States and in Europe, have been opened to women, who are taught and examined on various terms, and in most cases can obtain degrees, while in this country as early as 1888, out of 389 degree-giving bodies, 237, including all the State universities,

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were distinctly co-educational. From all these places women issue every year armed with degrees or certificates in every branch of learning—science, mathematics, languages, philosophy, theology, law, and so forth—a curious commentary on the doctrine of the 18th century Frenchwomen, that women ought to shrink as modestly from learning as from vice. The after careers of college students have led to much compilation of statistics. In Great Britain, to quote from a table drawn up from 1869 to 1895, of 1,486 such students 268 (or about one-seventh) have married, 680 have become teachers, 50 secretaries, 11 doctors, and 2 nurses, while the rest have all engaged in philanthropic or missionary work, with the exception of 1 journalist, 1 bookbinder, 1 market-gardener, and 1 lawyer in Bombay. In the United States we find it stated in 1895 that over one-half of the women students marry, and two-thirds teach at least for a while after leaving college. Of the 200,000 and more female teachers in this country registered at the last census, 735 were professors of advanced branches of learning in women's colleges or co-educational institutions. Taking the statistics of Vassar College separately, we learn that of the 1,182 graduates about two-thirds are married, about one-third are teaching and one-ninth are pursuing individual research, while among the numbers are 1 bank director, 1 treasurer, 1 business manager, and 1 "major" in the Salvation Army. Outside of the college graduates, there are many thousands of women workers in the United States engaged in no less than 400 distinct professions. Of these, next to medicine and teaching, the law is perhaps the most distinctly intellectual. Curiously enough, we find the question of female admissibility to the bar first debated and decided negatively in Russia in the year 1875. This decree has been reversed in no countries except France to a limited extent, and more widely in the United States. There was a woman lawyer in Wisconsin at least as early as 1879, and recent statistics show that 120 women are now members of the bar and 8 have been admitted to the Supreme Court, and that 24 States allow female pleading. Turning to some of the other avocations, we find registered at the last census 1,235 women preachers and 4,875 public officials of various kinds, whereas it may surprise us to read of only 2,725 authoresses and 888 women in journalism, of whom, by the by, comparatively few are college bred. On

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the other hand, nearly 50,000 women are engaged in teaching or producing music and art, and female painters outnumber the male. In England this is not yet the case, and the artistic energies of women are, on the whole, more directed to such art crafts as stained glass, china painting, wall papers, wood carving, metal-work for lamps and so forth, art needlework, bookbinding, modeling in clay, and even house decoration and landscape gardening.

After this general survey of women's work, divided as it was in a recent book into the nine departments of Education, Literature, Journalism, Medicine (of course including surgery and dentistry), the Ministry, the Law, the State, Industry, and Philanthropy, it would seem that there is no walk of life which, in some quarter of the globe at least, is not open to them. Into the factory, into the world of business, politics, or sport, into haunts of learning or offices of state, they have gradually found their way. As far as sentiment and abstract justice are concerned, the movement has met with approval from almost all thoughtful people, and has shown itself to be antagonistic neither to sex distinctions nor to the teachings of Scripture. There is, however, an economical side of the question which must not be overlooked. The rush of women into professions, notably that of teaching, has overstocked the market and tended to reduce salaries, if not to lower the standard of excellence, an evil aggravated by the prevailing want of combination among the women workers themselves. The cheapness of female labor makes employers engage the wives and daughters and leave the men at home, and it is a historical fact that such a state of things leads always to the deterioration of a race. Again, the very physical differences between the sexes would seem to predestine them to different kinds of work, and the duties of maternity alone would prove that woman was not primarily created to be the bread winner. All this belongs properly to the question of woman's true sphere; here it will be enough to have sketched historically the varying attitudes assumed by men toward the intellectual aspirations of women.

(3.) We have now arrived at our third point; what have women made out of their opportunities? Have they ever achieved, or will they ever achieve, anything first-rate in literature, science, or art? The first half at least of the question admits of a decided

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answer, and that answer is in the negative. Looking impartially at history we cannot claim that the widespread mental and artistic activity of women has in a single instance achieved anything absolutely first-rate, whether as creation or as discovery. This proposition must be discussed somewhat in detail.

Taking literature as our first topic, we find women from the earliest days expressing their thoughts in verse and prose. Yet as real poets we can only mention the half-mythical Sappho, and possibly in our own day Mrs. Browning and Christina Rossetti. Edmund Gosse has, indeed, emphatically asserted that women never have been or can be poets, because they lack the artistic impulse, and that the only possible exception to this rule lies in the realm of lyric poetry, which alone can be perfect without art. In prose we find the same absence of supreme excellence. No woman has ever written a great essay or a great history. Masculine production has been everywhere superior, except in the minor branches of letter-writing and novels of domestic life, with their special demand for the feminine qualities of quick emotions and ready observation. In dramatic literature no woman has gained for herself any lasting fame. Now, in the field of letters, at any rate, it cannot be claimed that woman has only just started. She has been writing for over 2,000 years and, broadly speaking, in every civilized country, even in Turkey and India, where her social position is most inferior; yet nowhere do we find her in the highest rank. Even the assumption of masculine *noms de plume* by so many authoresses points not so much to the desire for an impartial judgment from the public as to the dislike of each new aspirant to associate herself with the legions of female failures in literature. The want of closeness of grasp, want of balance, and want of precision in form, which characterize the writings of women, may be variously ascribed to lack of synthetic power, undue indulgence in the emotions, or imperfect training in the study of great models, but they are none the less incontestable. Whatever women may achieve in the future of letters, it is certain that in the past they have not attained an equal level with men, not even proportionally to the smaller number engaged in the attempt. They may, however, claim to have brought into literature, or intensified in it, two inestimable qualities, purity of sentiment without sentimentality, and breadth of human sympathy; and when we add to this their indirect influence on the

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writings of men, we must concede to them great importance though not supreme excellence.

The same things might almost be said, word for word, about art. Neither the antagonism of society nor inherent difficulties in painting, sculpture, architecture, and music can be put forward as adequate excuses for the mediocrity of feminine achievement, and lack of training can no longer be urged. Yet in all days past or present, what woman has risen to the highest rank in art? Mme. Lebrun and Angelica Kauffmann owe their principal fame to the fact that as exceptionally charming women in an age of laxer artistic criticism they were employed to paint the portraits of all their most famous contemporaries, and in their work have curiously reflected the spirit of a bygone and deeply interesting period. Rosa Bonheur is indeed "the monarch of animal painters," but no one can deny that hers is at best an inferior sphere of art. In landscape painting feminine mediocrity has been so marked that it has led to the assertion that women have no real love for nature. In sculpture who would venture to class Sabina von Steinbach or Harriet Hosmer with a Phidias or a Michel Angelo? In the field of architecture women have, it is true, only just begun to appear, but in the ancient and far-reaching realm of music their achievements are no less meagre. With the exception of a few simple airs, and the much-discussed share of Fanny Mendelssohn in her brother's *Lieder ohne Worte*, we can hardly mention anything produced by female musicians. On the other hand, in the sphere of rendering music, a woman such as Jenny Lind has probably eclipsed all male competitors, just as in another secondary or imitative art the Mrs. Siddons' or Rachels of the world have gained a fame to which even Garrick and Booth cannot approach. Again, as writers about art, women have done good service, and we can hardly even estimate the debt of masculine music, painting, and sculpture to feminine inspiration; but as creative artists women hitherto have been conspicuous failures.

Before we pass on to the abstract sciences, a glance must be given to the departments of teaching, philanthrophy, and medicine. It has been truly asserted that the two former have benefited enormously by the higher education of women. From classical days when Aspasia gave lectures and female philosophers discoursed to admiring pupils, there have always been women

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teaching with success, and indeed the obligatory training of a child by its mother seems to point this out as natural feminine work. And thus it can be only a gain to humanity to have its women teachers every year more thoroughly educated, just as in philanthropic work the value of trained intelligence is increasingly recognized. In all the walks of medicine, woman's presence is now almost universally welcomed. The military authorities in the Crimea who opposed the arrival of Florence Nightingale and her fifty nurses were soon converted when they saw the reduction in the death rate and the improvement of moral tone in the army. In the Turkish war of 1877 and in the recent cholera times Russia owed much to her women doctors, and in all countries, particularly in India, the work of these women among their own sex has been of unspeakable value. In this country a famous doctor said of Dr. Susan Dimock, who died at 28, but had already become famous for her "skill and self-command in operating," "I found her one of the most accomplished physicians I have met;" and there is a growing feeling that medical work in reformatories and insane asylums calls imperatively for women. In law, on the other hand, they have not worked long enough to be a fair subject for theories, and to theology and pulpit eloquence they cannot be said to have contributed anything whatsoever. In politics their power has been either exceptional, as in the case of queens, or indirect, as, for instance, in the old French *salons*, so that no general argument as to feminine capacity can fairly be adduced.

Turning to women in science—that is to say, to woman as an inventor and discoverer—we find more achievement of a distinctly high order, but the same absence of anything absolutely first-rate. In some branches, such as archæology, biology, chemistry, history, and philology, women have not worked in sufficient numbers to call for special attention. In philosophy they have translated and interpreted much, but originated nothing of consequence. In political economy Harriet Martineau herself recognized that she could "popularize but neither discover nor invent"; and the modern writer, Mrs. Fawcett, is chiefly known as her husband's collaborator and echo. In astronomy, however, there are several female claimants to fame. Hypatia, indeed, is known to us chiefly by tradition, and we have no positive proof that the astronomical tables inserted in her father's work are

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rightly ascribed to her, so that she owes her reputation principally to her youth and beauty and pathetic fate. But, when we come to modern days, we must not overlook the indubitable discovery of five comets by Caroline Herschel, even if we think of her primarily as the devoted assistant and amanuensis of her greater brother, Sir William; nor the valuable contributions made to astronomical science by Catherine Scarpellini; nor the place filled in our own country by Maria Mitchell, not only as professor of astronomy at Vassar College, but as a staunch advocate and shining example of higher education for women. At the present moment the women engaged in this science are occupying humbler, but no less useful, positions, and, as assistants in observatories, are doing good service in the study of photographs under the microscope or in the observation of sun-spots and eclipses.

In physics and mathematics we find feminine enthusiasts at quite an early date. In the 18th century a work by Signora Agnesi, assistant professor of mathematics at Bologna, was translated by one of the greatest English mathematicians then living; while at Voltaire's request Mme. du Châtelet published a French version of Newton's *Principia*. Early in this century Sophie Germain carried off a special scientific prize offered at Napoleon's suggestion by the Institute of France, and Mrs. Somerville was authorized by Laplace to make a condensed English reproduction of his *Mécanique Céleste*. Of this remarkable woman, Justin McCarthy could justly say that she "distinctly raised the world's estimate of woman's capacity for the severest and the loftiest pursuits," and we learn that her chief regret in dying, at the advanced age of 91, was that she had not lived to see ascertained the distance of the earth from the sun, and the true sources of the Nile. In our own day Miss Fawcett has shown much mathematical promise, and it is said by a competent judge that the work of Sonia Kovalevski, who died at 41 after gaining the Bordin Prize from the French Academy of Sciences, is of far higher grade than any as yet achieved by any American mathematician, astronomers possibly excepted. Yet taken all in all, these few individual instances of female achievement in science serve only to prove the rule that women as discoverers are inferior to men.

In the realm of invention the same statement holds good. In the earliest times, it is true, both the industrial arts and the spread of language were due to the women of a race, with their sedentary

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lives and constant occasions for conversation and mechanical devices, rather than to their hunting and necessarily taciturn husbands and brothers. Tradition itself assigns to various women or goddesses the first introduction of agriculture, law, medicine, and the rudiments of learning, and history confirms such a belief. To two Chinese empresses we owe the art of spinning and the discovery of silk. A Greek woman gave us gauze, a Hindoo princess Cashmere shawls and attar of roses, and a Japanese woman the first relief work in bronze ever produced in her country. In later days Miss Betsy Metcalf originated the straw industry in the United States, and even if Eli Whitney and not Mrs. Greene devised the cotton gin, yet we find 3,458 indisputable feminine inventions registered at the United States Patent Office since its opening in 1790. On the whole, it is probably safe to say that no epoch-making invention has yet been produced by a woman, though as assistants in mechanical experiments women are preferred to men by no less an authority than Edison.

After this rapid survey of all possible branches of mental activity, one-half at least of our third question may be said to be answered. Women have never yet attained the highest rank in science, literature, and art. Whether they ever will do so is, of course, a matter of opinion, and here it is well carefully to discriminate facts from theories. When a distinguished critic asserts that women are fitted to excel in the arts of pleasing (such as dress and conversation) and of mere decoration, rather than in the fine arts proper, we may be inclined to agree with him, owing to historical experience. But we shall probably not admit as proof his arguments of doubtful relevancy and accuracy, such as the development of æsthetic taste in the male animal earlier than in the female, the effect of muscular weakness in precluding sympathy with an artist's own creations, and the comparative insensibility of women to love. Again, when Professor Romanes follows Darwin in putting down observation, reason, imagination, and invention as the qualities selected in man, and intuition, rapid perception, and possibly imitation as those selected in women, no one can venture to dissent; but when he proceeds to give supposed reasons, we listen with interest rather than conviction. According to him the intellectual inferiority of women is due, first to the preference of men who marry only the clinging and dependent among them and perpetuate these

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traits in the race; secondly, to the woman's physical weakness, inclining her to timidity, vacillation, and an absorbing desire to please; thirdly, to the diversion of her energies and the over-stimulation of her emotions effected by maternal duties; and, fourthly, to the comparative ignorance of life in which she is and should be brought up. No more satisfactory are the reasons alleged on the other side, such as the comparative recentness of women's attempts in literature, science, and art, the prejudice and opposition of men, and the influence of past centuries of imperfect education and inherited ignorance. Of these the first two are untrue or exaggerated, and the third must strike with surprise any person who reflects that women presumably inherit as much from their educated fathers and grandfathers as from their uneducated mothers and grandmothers. There seems more logical cogency in the arguments of a recent writer, who shrewdly asks: If women were ever intellectually equal to men, when and why did they begin to fall behind? and if they never were equal, how can they hope to catch up now, when masculine education is advancing at as great a rate as feminine?

(4.) There now remains only our fourth and last question, that of woman's proper sphere. Here again "who shall decide when doctors disagree?" Basing all theories, however, on experience and history, as previously cited, we may perhaps assert tentatively a few propositions. In writing, women will be wise to recognize with George Eliot the fact of sex in literature, and realize that to write *as women* is the office they have to perform. *After their kind,* in her opinion, women can fully equal men. Probably woman's kind in literature will always be found to be the humbler species, the lyric, and especially the hymn, letter-writing, and domestic novels. In art she will do well to confine herself to the lower and no less useful branches, decoration, and the various art industries; in music and drama she must be content with being indisputably a finer interpreter than man. In teaching, philanthropy, and medicine she can take an honorable place, and in religious work (apart from the vexed question of preaching) she will be universally welcomed. In the sciences of invention and discovery she had best not hope for great achievement, but be satisfied with a large arena of usefulness in assisting and carrying out the creations of men. For it is in this subordinate relation that women can probably find their truest and widest

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sphere, that of Influence. It is the modern fashion to decry this power as degrading; none the less it is a vitally important factor in human affairs. Buckle declares that in the modern world the spread of civilization and the influence of women have been commensurate. Not only on morals, he tells us, but on knowledge has this influence been of enormous importance, for it is women who encourage in men those processes of deduction and imagination which are foreign to the male nature. To the same secret but beneficent agency Mill ascribes the aversion of the world nowadays to war and its addiction to philanthropy. In whatever field of mental activity we look, women have from all time been the great inspirers and moulders of men. No one can mention Barak, Pericles, Dante, or Petrarch without thinking simultaneously of Deborah, Aspasia, Beatrice, or Laura. The finest compositions by Beethoven, Schumann, and Chopin would probably never have been written but for the women to whom they are dedicated, and the paintings of Andrea del Sarto and Titian show almost too plainly the earthly and feminine sources of their inspiration. The French Academy owes its birth to the female purists assembled in the Hotel de Rambouillet, and indeed throughout the history of French literature women seem to have abided by the famous advice of Lebrun: "Inspire, do not write." In the various *salons* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, literary, political, philosophical, semi-religious, or wholly revolutionary, a new French literature and philosophy, and above all, the spirit of a terribly new political age, may be said to have been cradled. Clubs have now arisen to draw men away from ladies' drawing-rooms, and the power of the press has eclipsed that of any social circle, but none the less can women expect and claim a vital if subordinate or indirect share in all the activities of men.

To those who are not contented with this, we can only say: Take your own way. You are probably as well fitted as a man at least to *acquire* learning, and all opportunities are now open to you. But if in achievement you fail to attain the highest rank, do not be surprised, but look with more tolerant respect on the women who are satisfied to be and confess themselves the intellectual inferiors of men.

G. G. Buckler.

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PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

V.—THE PACIFIC STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE States, eleven in number, comprise more than 40 per cent. of the area of the Union, but are of such recent formation that they have less than 4 inhabitants per square mile, against 35 in the Prairie States. Census reports show:

	1850.	1870.	1890.
Americans	95,000	678,000	2,257,000
Foreigners	90,000	313,000	771,000
Total	185,000	991,000	3,028,000

The population in 1850 consisted of a group of gold-diggers in California, and it was not until 20 years later that these States began to attain any importance, viz.:

	1870.	1890.	1897 Est.
California	560,000	1,208,000	1,580,000
Colorado	40,000	412,000	650,000
Washington	24,000	349,000	640,000
Oregon	91,000	314,000	460,000
Utah	87,000	208,000	280,000
Montana, etc.	189,000	537,000	750,000
Total	991,000	3,028,000	4,360,000

Here, as in other parts of the Union, urban population grew twice as fast as rural. The census of 1890 showed 22 cities, of which only 5 dated so far back as 1870. The returns were as follows:

	1870.	1890.	Increase per cent.
Urban population	199,000	901,000	350
Rural "	792,000	2,127,000	170
Total	991,000	3,028,000	206

San Francisco and Denver are the only cities that count more than 100,000 souls; the former is now the seventh city of the

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Union, having outstripped New Orleans and Cincinnati since the census of 1870. The Pacific States are remarkable for the great number of foreign settlers and the paucity of negroes, the former composing one-fourth of the population, the latter less than one per cent. The foreign element is, nevertheless, on the wane, seeing that in 1870 it stood for nearly one-third of the population. This is the only section of the Union in which British settlers hold the highest place, outnumbering both Germans and Irish.

Agriculture.—The area of improved land under farms has trebled in twenty years, and yet has not kept pace with population, viz.:

	Acres improved.		Acres per inhabitant.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
California	6,220,000	12,220,000	11.1	10.1
Oregon	1,120,000	3,520,000	12.3	11.2
Washington	190,000	1,820,000	7.9	5.2
Colorado	90,000	1,820,000	2.4	4.4
Other States	480,000	3,640,000	1.8	4.9
Pacific States	8,100,000	23,020,000	8.2	7.6

The new farms established in the above interval of twenty years covered an area equal to the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium put together. The production of grain and meat has been as follows:

	Tons yearly.		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	1870.	1893-95.	1870.	1893-95.
Grain	950,000	2,900,000	2,150	1,700
Meat	120,000	750,000	270	440

There is a deficit of grain, but a large surplus of meat, about 500,000 tons yearly. No part of the Union has such abundant flocks and herds; for if we take horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs collectively there are 8 head to each inhabitant, as compared with 3 in the Prairie States and less than 3 in the Union at large. The value of farm products is approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Dollars.
Grain	2,900,000	50,600,000
Potatoes	290,000	4,800,000
Hay	10,100,000	75,000,000
Meat	750,000	99,000,000
Tallow and lard	135,000	12,000,000
Dairy products	.....	4,000,000
Sundries	.....	49,000,000
Total	.....	294,400,000

This gives an average of $13 an acre, against $9½ in the Prairie, and $14 in the Middle States. The production of grain

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and meat in comparison with the number of persons employed in farming in these and the other States is shown as follows:

States	No. of hands.	Tons.		Pounds per hand.	
		Grain.	Meat.	Grain.	Meat.
Pacific..	310,000	2,900,000	750,000	21,100	5,400
Prairie.....	3,060,000	50,300,000	2,190,000	36,700	1,570
Southern.	3,850,000	14,600,000	1,630,000	8,500	940
Eastern	1,100,000	5,300,000	390,000	10,800	790
Union.....	8,320,000	73,100,000	4,960,000	19,700	1,350

If we admit the formula that one ton of meat is equal to 8 tons of grain it will appear that the labor of each farm hand is equivalent to 30 tons of grain in the Pacific States, 22 in the Prairie, 7 in the Southern, and 8 in the Eastern States, the average for the whole Union being 14 tons per hand. In other words, each hand in the Pacific States produces double the average. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the farms in these States are much larger, and the number of acres to each farming hand much greater, than elsewhere, viz.:

States.	Average farm, acres.			Acres to each hand.		
	Improved.	Unimproved.	Total.	Improved.	Unimproved.	Total.
Pacific....	158	166	324	74	78	152
Prairie....	95	38	133	60	24	84
Southern.	58	81	139	27	38	65
Eastern...	65	32	97	42	20	62
Union..	78	59	137	43	32	75

If the agriculture of the whole Union were on the same footing as in the Pacific States the improved area under farms (at 74 acres per hand) would reach 615 million acres, or 70 per cent. more than at present. This shows how efficient and economical is the labor applied in these States, where a machine with a couple of men cuts, threshes, winnows, and bags 60 acres of wheat in a day. The largest farms on the Pacific slope are in Nevada, averaging 1,300 acres, the smallest in Utah, average 126 acres. In the latter State the number of improved acres gives only 39 acres to each farm hand, which shows that the labor of two Mormon farmers is required to produce as much as one ordinary hand, not for want of industry on the part of Mormons, but because small farms are ill-suited to labor-saving machinery of the newest kind. There is an immense field for agriculture, as yet undeveloped, the Pacific States having only

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6 per cent. of their area under farms (even including lands that are unimproved), whereas the farming area of the Union is 20 per cent. of the superficial extent. The following table sums up the agricultural wealth of these States, and shows the average value of land per acre in the census of 1890:

	Million dollars.	Dollars per acre.
California	772	57
Oregon	143	33
Colorado	110	46
Washington	101	46
Other States	187	31
Pacific States	1,313	48

The value per acre averages one-fourth higher than in the Prairie States, the price being abnormally high in California, by reason of the fertility of its valleys, teeming with wheat, wine, and delicious fruits, and enjoying the most perfect and salubrious climate in the world. The vineyards cover 30,000 acres, yielding 10 million gallons of wine yearly; the fruit-gardens produce 60,000 tons of plums and apricots, which is more than half the total product in the Union. On the other hand, these States are insufficiently supplied as regards poultry, the number of eggs produced yearly allowing only 110 to each inhabitant, or two-thirds of the ordinary consumption.

Forestry.—The timber area of these States is much below the average, but the State of Washington is exceptional, having 24 million acres of forest, equal to 55 per cent. of its area. The Pacific States have altogether 116 million acres of timber, and the annual cutting is estimated at 30 million tons, one-third lumber, the rest fences and firewood, representing a value of 70 million dollars, say 60 cents per acre, whereas the forests of the Union at large give an average product of $2.20 per acre.

Mining.—The Pacific States are pre-eminently addicted to mining, the annual output of minerals, according to last census, amounting to 142 million dollars, or 37 dollars per inhabitant, against 18 dollars in Australia. The returns for 1890 were :

	Gold, oz.	Silver, oz.	Coal, tons.	Total value dollars.
California	610,000	1,100,000	120,000	19,700,000
Colorado	190,000	18,400,000	2,600,000	41,100,000
Montana	150,000	13,500,000	360,000	33,700,000
Nevada	170,000	4,700,000	.....	10,100,000
Utah, etc	300,000	13,200,000	3,220,000	37,900,000
Pacific States	1 420,000	50,900,000	6,300,000	142,500,000

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Immediately after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, in 1849, California was invaded by a crowd of gold-diggers from all parts of the world. Down to 1857 the diggings yielded gold to the annual value of 60 million dollars, afterward declining to one-half, but gold was also found at Pike's Peak, Colorado, as well as in Nevada and Montana, between 1858 and 1863; so that at present California produces (as shown above) less than half the total. Silver was first found in Nevada in 1858, but not in any abundance till 1871, and mines of even richer ore were subsequently developed in Colorado, Montana, and Utah. The quantity of precious metals extracted in 44 years, according to a statement published in 1894, was as follows:

Period.	Tons gold.	Tons silver.	Value millions dollars.
1850-69	1,525	2,130	1,110
1870-89	1,104	20,980	1,465
1890-93	201	7,270	350
44 years	2,830	30,380	2,925

The Comstock Lode, Nevada, produced at one time (1871–76) gold and silver to the annual value of 24 million dollars. The yield of the Montana mines from 1862 to 1889 averaged 10 tons of gold and 90 of silver, together worth 11 million dollars yearly.

The annual product of precious metals in the Pacific States since 1890 has averaged 55 tons of gold and 1,800 of silver, worth 100 million dollars, which exceeds the value of precious metals that any country has yet produced, in the history of mankind.

Manufactures.—This branch of industry is of minor importance, but has quadrupled in 20 years, viz.:

	Output, dollars.	No. of operatives.	Dollars per operative.
1870	80,000,000	32,000	2,500
1890	360,000,000	152,000	2,370

California stands for 60 per cent. of the total manufacturing output of these States, as the returns for 1890 show:

	Million Dollars.		
	California.	Other States.	Total.
Lumber	14	36	50
Flour	14	15	29
Sundries	185	96	281
Total	213	147	360

The value of manufactures produced yearly is equal to 119 dollars per inhabitant, against 141 in the Prairie States.

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Commerce.—The trade of these States is mostly internal. The only port that has a foreign trade is San Francisco, the shipping entries of which have doubled in 20 years and now reach 1,200,000 tons. It is the fourth seaport in the Union, taking rank next after Philadelphia.

Railways.—In 1895 the Pacific States had 23,800 miles of railway, which had cost 1,210 millions of dollars, or $51,000 per mile. No other part of the world possesses such a length of railways for population, since each inhabitant has 10 yards of railroad, against 5 in Australia, 6 in Canada.

Banking.—Discounts fluctuate between 90 and 100 millions. Savings-banks deposits reach 136 millions, or $35 per inhabitant, these banks being found mostly in California, where the deposits average $90 per inhabitant, or three times the average for the Union.

Wealth.—The components of wealth in 1890 were:

	Millions dollars.						
	Farms.	Houses.	Mines.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	Dollars per inhabitant.
California	772	974	83	236	469	2,534	2,097
Colorado	110	518	161	222	135	1,146	2,779
Washington	101	432	8	93	127	761	2,180
Oregon	143	264	17	75	91	590	1,878
Montana	49	182	81	113	28	453	3,432
Utah	36	155	67	56	35	349	1,675
N. Mexico	16	106	22	75	12	231	1,500
Idaho	26	79	47	48	8	208	2,476
Arizona	11	89	26	56	7	189	3,150
Nevada	19	80	27	48	6	180	3,913
Wyoming	30	77	5	48	10	170	2,787
Total.	1,313	2,956	544	1,070	928	6,811	2,318

There is no parallel to the increase of wealth which has taken place in these States. In 20 years wealth multiplied ninefold, viz.:

	Wealth, millions dollars.		Increase yearly.	
	1870.	1890.	Dollars, amount	Dollars per inhabitant.
California	556	2,534	98,900,000	112
Colorado	18	1,146	56,400,000	260
Washington	12	761	37,400,000	247
Oregon	45	590	27,300,000	140
Other States	96	1,780	84,200,000	165
Pacific States	727	6,811	304,200,000	156

During the above interval of 20 years the annual increase of wealth for the whole Union averaged $39 per inhabitant; the accumulation in the Pacific States during the said period was therefore four times the average.

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Mortgages are not heavy, being a little over 10 per cent. of the value of real estate, but farm lands are much more heavily encumbered than house property, viz.:

	Millions, dollars.		
	Value.	Mortgage.	Per cent.
Lands	1,095	214	19
Houses	2,956	215	7
Total	4,051	429	10½

The rate of interest is very high, averaging 9 per cent., and in three States, Arizona, Idaho, and Montana, the average is 11 per cent. The annual burden of interest on mortgage is equivalent to a tax of $12 per inhabitant, which is double the average in the rest of the Union. Insured property in 1890 amounted to 413 millions, or $137 per inhabitant, the average for the Union being $300 per head.

Finances.—Local and State taxes in 1890 summed up $41,400,000, or not quite $14 per inhabitant, as compared with $8 in the Prairie States. The difference is partly accounted for by the scattered nature of the population in the Pacific States, as well as by the large expenditure for schools, equal to $3½ per inhabitant.

Education.—The level of public instruction is inferior to that of the Eastern or the Prairie States, notwithstanding the higher outlay for schools. The percentage of illiterate persons according to the census of 1890 was as follows:

	Illiterates, per cent.			
	New England.	Middle.	Prairie.	Pacific States.
Americans	1.7	2.8	3.4	4.5
Foreigners	18.1	14.5	10.6	10.4
General population	6.3	7.0	5.7	8.3

From whatever cause the expenditure, compared with the number of school children, is much above the average for the Union. The returns of public instruction for 1895 showed the average daily attendance of children and the annual outlay as follows:

States.	School children.	Outlay, dollars.	Dollars per child.
Eastern	2,520,000	66,500,000	26.40
Southern	2,790,000	20,400,000	7 30
Prairie	3,610,000	77,900,000	21.40
Pacific	470,000	13,500,000	28.70
Union	9,390,000	178,300,000	19.00

The average attendance of school children is very satisfactory,

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being 51 per cent. of the number of children of school age, whereas the attendance for the whole Union is only 46 per cent.

In whatever aspect we may view the Pacific States, their progress must appear marvellous. Although of such recent formation that most of them have sprung into existence since 1860, they possess more miles of railway than any European state except France or Germany, and their wealth exceeds that of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in the aggregate.

The share which corresponds to these States in making up the Great Republic may be expressed as follows: Area 40 per cent., population 6, agriculture 8, manufactures 4, mining 25, wealth 10, per cent., of the total.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

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CENTRAL AFRICA SINCE THE DEATH OF LIVINGSTONE.

BY THE REV. W. GARDEN BLAIKIE, DD., LL.D., F. R. S. E.

THE transformation which the part of Africa that Livingstone first brought to light has undergone since his death surpasses anything on a like scale that has ever been witnessed in the short space of four and twenty years. But, indeed, we may say, in one sense, the transformation which the whole continent of Africa has undergone; for however far it may have been from his intention, it was Livingstone indirectly who set in motion that unprecedented machinery that within the last dozen years has divided the Dark Continent among most of the leading powers of Europe. It would be out of the question within the limits of an article to attempt a full narrative of this great chapter of African history; we shall notice it only in so far as it is necessary to explain the present position of that part of Central Africa with which the name of Livingstone is specially connected. The river Shiré and the lakes were emphatically Livingstone's domain. It is here that the transformation has been most remarkable. Within this region in particular, exploration, geography, natural science, commerce, the suppression of the slave trade, missionary enterprise, and social improvement have all made wonderful progress since the intrepid missionary passed away, on May 1, 1873, on the swamps of Lake Bangweolo.

Livingstone was like Samson; he did more by his death than by all the efforts of his life. That picture of the weary, wornout man, found dead in the attitude of prayer in the rude hut beside Chilambo's village, thrilled the civilized world, and roused its noblest energies. It is rather difficult to put Livingstone's character together. That he was a true missionary at heart is be-

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yond doubt, and that he held the Gospel to be the chief instrument of transforming the country in all its great interests; but it is equally certain that he was fascinated by the geographical problem, and that it was for the solution of that problem that he wandered so long in the region where he died. But he never lost sight of the missionary aim, and, apart altogether from the geographical problem, he felt that in becoming thoroughly acquainted with the infamies of the slave trade which he saw there in all its hideousness, and thus becoming fitted to expose it when he should return home, he was doing a service more than worthy of his highest energies. He was bent on finding the sources of the Nile, but unfortunately he was on the wrong tack. Had he been able at Nyangwé to get the means of exploring the Lualaba River, he would have done what Stanley did afterwards —sailed down the river, and found that its connection was not with the Nile but with the Congo. Of this he had some vivid surmises; but without proof positive, he could not abandon his first impression. Dean Stanley had good cause to place the lines over his remains in Westminster Abbey:

> "Tantus amor veri, nihil est quod noscere malim
> Quam fluvii causas, per sæcula tanta latentes."

But he had equal reason to add the words which were the key, not to a mere part, but to the whole scope and aim, of Livingstone's life:

> "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice."

It was on September 16, 1858, that Livingstone, sailing up the River Shiré, discovered Lake Nyassa. From the very first he was convinced that the valley of the Shiré and Lake Nyassa was the key to Central Africa. The experience of nearly forty years has verified that impression. In imagination he saw the great object of his Zambesi expedition accomplished. He saw the valley dotted with British colonies and mission stations and trading settlements; he saw the slave trade superseded by lawful commerce, the natives transformed into intelligent, industrious laborers; the whole valley blossoming as the rose. Alas, much was to happen, the thermometer was to fall to zero, before this could be realized. The next few years were to be a season of heartbreaking disappointments; every effort was to result in at

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least temporary failure; so that fifteen years later, at the death of Livingstone, the prospect was darker than ever. The slave trade was carried on more widely and cruelly; the Universities' Mission, under Bishop Tozer, had left the continent and established its headquarters in the island of Zanzibar; and the Free Church of Scotland after sending out Mr. Stewart (now Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale) to reconnoitre, had found that the country was too unsettled for any mission to be established then on the banks of Lake Nyassa. If ever there was a forlorn picture on earth it was that of Livingstone, after his expedition had been recalled by the British government; after finding that the slave raiders were the only party that had benefited by his discoveries; after nearly all his countrymen had for one reason or another left him; after all the depressing effects of illness, and of worries, delays and disappointments without number; after finding that the ship he had bought with his own money could not be turned to use on the lake—persevering, nevertheless, in exploring the banks of Nyassa, although it could only be by the weary process of trudging on foot; pressing on as far as he could go until compelled to turn to look after the vessel he had got from the government; and finally leaving the lake, from which he had hoped so much, just as he found it, without a single missionary on its banks, without a single white merchant on its heights, the slave trade more active than ever, and misery, strife, darkness, and disorder holding their unmitigated reign.

When he returned to Nyassa on his last expedition he found no improvement, and he was not able to effect any. In the interest mainly of the geographical problem he pushed westward, becoming acquainted with Lake Tanganyika, and discovering lakes Moero and Bangweolo. Finding him at Ujiji in much the same plight as the traveller in the parable of the good Samaritan, Henry M. Stanley, on the part of Mr. Bennett of *The New York Herald*, rescued him from rags and starvation. It was a noble service, romantic in its origin, most loving and fraternal in its execution. The three months which these two men spent together had memorable effects. The spirit of Livingstone passed into Stanley in more senses than one. But they had to part; Stanley to return, having accomplished the purpose for which he was sent out, and Livingstone, in spite of every remonstrance, to finish his work if possible, and find

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the sources of the Nile. In reality, it was to end his life, and thereby, as it appeared to human vision, to shut conclusively the door of hope which he had opened for Africa. *Dis aliter visum.*

When Stanley heard of the death of Livingstone, he was seized by an irresistible desire to finish the work which had been left incomplete. Arriving in London just in time to take part in committing to their resting-place in Westminster Abbey the bones of his friend that had been so marvellously borne from the hut on Bangweolo, he was only strengthened in his resolution. The newspaper reporter was transformed into the intrepid traveller; the youth who had been captivated by the love of adventure, awoke to the responsibilities of life, and entered in a measure into Livingstone's view of its purpose. Under the conjoint auspices of *The New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, an expedition was fitted out, and Stanley proceeded to Africa with the resolute purpose of exploring the Lualaba, and following its course to the sea.

In the meanwhile, however, another man had been trying to accomplish this very thing, and failed. Lieutenant Verney Lovett Cameron (Commander Cameron, C. B.), who had headed an expedition sent out by the Royal Geographical Society in search of Livingstone, having met at Unyanyembe the band of natives who were carrying his remains to the sea, had resolved to go westward in the same direction, and finish Livingstone's work. An intrepid and skilful traveller, he reached Nyangwé, but there he encountered the very same difficulty that had baffled his predecessor. Nothing could induce the natives to give him canoes, or to aid him in his work. Fear of the consequences to themselves overcame them. When Stanley came to the same place in 1876 it could be little comfort to him to think of the failure of his predecessors. It was a marvellous tribute to Stanley's power of management that he succeeded where they had failed. The story of his ten months' journey down the Congo is one of the most remarkable narratives of adventure ever known, as the results were certainly of unprecedented importance in the history of Africa. He reached the sea in the end of 1877. The publication of his book, "Through the Dark Continent," not only effected a revolution in the realm of geography, but also in the realm of history. The region which he opened

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up was of such importance, the basin of the Congo was such a magnificent sphere for commerce, agriculture, and all manner of enterprise, that men's minds were stirred to the utmost, and a host of projects, missionary and commercial, rose above the horizon.

It would have said little for the Christian church if the missionary aspect of the discovery had not immediately arrested attention and been followed by corresponding activity. And the history of missionary enterprise on the Congo during the last twenty years is a remarkable record—a record involving numberless instances of early death, through ignorance or inattention, no doubt, in many cases; but in the readiness of men and women to take the place of those who had fallen it showed in a most interesting way that the spirit of heroism had not died out in the nineteenth century, and that Livingstone's example had not been in vain.

But it is in other directions we are to look for the most far-spreading effects of Stanley's enterprise. Even before he had left Nyangwé the attention of Leopold, King of Belgium, had been eagerly turned to Africa and to the best means of promoting the civilization of the continent, and opening it up to the commerce, industry, and scientific enterprise of the civilized world. For the consideration of this subject he had summoned an international conference to Brussels, which met on September 12, 1876, and resulted in the formation of an International African Association.

King Leopold was profoundly interested in Stanley's letters from the Congo, and at the earliest possible moment invited him to Brussels, and discussed with him in full his plans for the settlement of the country. Afterwards members of the International Association were invited to a conference, and a committee was formed for the investigation of the Upper Congo. Capital was subscribed to enable the committee to carry out its objects. In 1878 Stanley's book, "Through the Dark Continent," was published, and gave an immense impetus to the project of King Leopold. In 1879 Stanley returned to the Congo, under the auspices of the King and his associates, and took the main part in the formation of the Congo Free State. It is unnecessary in this place to detail the steps connected with the development of this project, which ended in making Leopold virtually

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the head of the Congo State, and placing it under his administration. He had been the mainspring of the whole movement; he had contributed immense sums from his own purse towards it; he was willing to incur great responsibilities in connection with it, and, being the King of a very small European state, he could not become the object of that jealousy which would have been felt had any of the great powers of Europe been invested with the control. The arrangements of the Congo Free State were made at an international conference held at Berlin in 1884-85.

What may be the final outcome of the Belgian Congo State is far from certain. Rumors of maladministration have of late been very rife. Belgium has had little or no experience in colonial administration, or in the management of foreign races. Whether she may succeed in establishing a settled government, or whether she may have to make way for some stronger power, or whether the Congo State may break up into a number of smaller states, are all questions which the future must determine.

What is of special moment for our present purpose is that, in thus making herself mistress of the Congo State, Belgium began that great game which has issued in the partition of nearly the whole of Africa among European powers. Her example proved very infectious. Let us now briefly state what has been done in the same direction by France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, and last, not least, by Great Britain.

It is no wonder that France should have been powerfully moved by the opening up of the African continent, because of late years she has shown a strong desire to become a great colonial power. The conquest of Algeria, begun in 1830, cost much bloodshed, and, it is said, a hundred and fifty millions sterling. Much has been done to civilize the country; but it is not a very desirable colony.

In 1881 France took possession of Tunis. France from early times had a hold of Senegambia, on the west coast. Of late years she has contrived to enlarge greatly the area over which her influence extends. She long cherished an eager desire for the control of the whole region of the Niger, and in the Upper Niger her authority has been firmly established; but on the Lower Niger her ambition has been frustrated, chiefly through the efforts of Sir George Goldie, who succeeded in getting a royal

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charter for the Niger Company of England. A few scattered settlements on the west coast are under the French flag. But her greatest acquisition on the continent of Africa is the very extensive region known as French Congo, adjacent to the Congo Free State, between the right bank of the river Congo and the sea. The acquisition of this territory she owed mainly to an Italian named De Brazza, who, leaving Europe in 1879 under pretence of promoting the objects of the International Society, induced certain chiefs to make treaties favorable to France. Mr. Stanley and the King of the Belgians were annoyed at his proceedings, which, in reality, broke up the International Society and left each power to scramble for itself. Of the French seizure of Madagascar we do not take note, because it is the partition of the continent we have to do with.

Increase of appetite, as the poet says, grows by what it feeds on ; and when Bismarck had created the empire of Germany, the ambition arose to make her a great colonial power. She had some small settlements in Africa from an early period, and there were German African Colonial societies ; but 1884 witnessed the beginning of her active zeal to obtain new colonies. Before that year German merchants had stations along a large tract of the west coast, and German missionaries occupied about a hundred stations. We say nothing of the manner in which Germany went to work, and in which she dealt with British interests in part of the region. There was a long and sharp correspondence between the foreign offices of the two countries, which ended in Britain's giving way to Germany.

Similar proceedings went on thereafter on the east coast. Attention had first been called to the region near Zanzibar by an eminent German explorer, Von der Dacken (1860–65), who lost his life while exploring the river Juba. In 1894 Dr. Karl Peters, who had gone without government authority into the country, negotiated certain treaties with native chiefs, and then transferred the rights thus obtained to the German African Society. Again the interests of Britain appeared to be trifled with, and again she acted a conciliatory part. The result was that another huge slice of African territory was placed under German influence, bounded roughly by Lake Victoria Nyanza on the north, Lake Tanganyika on the west, and the British and Portuguese spheres on the south.

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Portugal was certainly one of the earliest colonizers of Africa, and of that fact she tried hard to avail herself. On the strength of what had been done by early travellers and traders, she claimed a vast trans-African empire, extending from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. On the strength of traditions equally vague and questionable, she claimed the Nyassa region which Livingstone had discovered, and which he destined as the centre both of commercial and missionary work. Lord Salisbury, who was thought to have been rather complacent to Germany, took up a very firm attitude with Portugal. The Berlin Conference had laid it down that no country could claim any part of Africa of which it was not in actual possession, and this resolution quashed wholesale many of the claims of Portugal. Yet two great tracts fell to her possession, the Angola Colony on the west and a strip along the coast from Zululand to Cape Delgado on the east. The Nyassa region (of which we are to speak presently) was specially reserved for a British protectorate.

Of the Italian portion of Africa in the neighhorhood of Abyssinia we need not write in detail, for hitherto it has brought little but disaster to Italy, and it is doubtful whether Italy will be able to colonize it or, indeed, to occupy it to any practical purpose.

And now we come to Great Britain. Of her early colonies on the west coast, and of her great colony, the Cape of Good Hope, on the south, and Natal on the southeast, we need not speak, because they remain as they were. We have already adverted to her success on the lower Niger, by which she frustrated the aim of France to possess a vast African empire, extending from the Mediterranean to the Congo. But the chief acquisitions of Great Britain in recent years have been in the southern and eastern sections of the continent. In regard to the south, we have no space to narrate all the events that led ultimately to the extension of the region under British influence as far north as the river Zambesi. Agreements were made with the chiefs, who professed their desire to come under British protection. The Transvaal Republic and the Portuguese nation were extremely desirous to obtain parts of these lands, and the efforts of Great Britain were no doubt quickened by the certainty that if she did not obtain them, some other country would. By and by, Mr. Cecil Rhodes came on the field, and by him and others Mashonaland and Mata-

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beleland were prospected, with a view to the working of gold mines. After delay and difficulty, a charter was granted to the British South African Company, under whose control that vast region now is, and which has recently become so notorious in connection with Dr. Jamieson's attempted raid on the Transvaal.

We now come nearer to that part of Africa with which the name of Livingstone is specially connected, and the present condition of which it is the main object of this paper to describe. But a brief historical introduction is still necessary. It is a wonderful proof of Livingstone's influence that as soon as he passed away very vigorous efforts were made from many quarters to establish agencies for the moral and commercial improvement of the Lakes District. It is necessary to remember that other lakes besides those of Livingstone had been discovered in the neighborhood. Speke had discovered the Victoria Nyanza; Speke and Butler, Tanganyika, and Baker the Albert Nyanza. On his way to explore the Lualaba and the Niger, Stanley had made a survey of the Victoria Nyanza, and had become acquainted with King Mtesa, of Uganda, and ascertained his willingness to have Christian missionaries sent to his people. When he wrote to England he pressed the desirableness of occupying Uganda as a mission sphere. Without any definite provision for protection, the Free Church of Scotland in 1875 established its Livingstonia Mission on the banks of Lake Nyassa; next year the Established Church of Scotland took possession of a district in the Shiré Highlands, which it named Blantyre, after Livingstone's birthplace; the Church Missionary Society commenced work in Uganda, whither a Roman Catholic body of missionaries was sent subsequently. The London Missionary Society in 1877 found a field at Tanganyika; and the Universities Mission returned in 1882 to the district it had formerly occupied, between Lake Nyassa and the sea. The Moravians, the Berlin Society, and other bodies, likewise commenced missionary work. In Livingstone's idea, Christianity and commerce were always united, for without a thriving legitimate commerce he could not get rid of the slave trade; but it was undesirable that missionaries should combine the two avocations; hence the African Lakes Association was founded by some friends in Glasgow, to work as a trading company in connection with the Scotch missions. But it was not to be expected that, settling among wild bar-

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barians, all these agencies would be able to carry on their work without molestation and serious opposition. They might be implicated in the feuds of the tribes; or they might get into trouble by their horror at the slave trade and their irrepressible desire to help the miserable slaves; or some jealous chief might fall on them in his fury, and literally annihilate them. In the neighborhood of Lake Nyassa great trouble was caused by the Arab slave-traders, and in that of Victoria Nyanza by the persecuting fury of King Mwanga, the son and successor of Mtesa. The African Lakes Company had to fight with the Arabs for their lives; in the course of the wars their managers, John and Frederick Moir, were both seriously wounded, and the whole company was in danger of extinction. The atrocities of King Mwanga are well known. The Uganda martyrs, braving not death only, but nameless tortures, behaved like heroes; the murder of Bishop Hannington was an infamous crime, and it seemed not unlikely to be followed up by the murder of every white man in the kingdom. Then there were internal feuds between the natives and the Mohammedans, and between the Protestants and Roman Catholics; at one time Mwanga had to fly; then he returned; Uganda was like a volcano. The British government was appealed to by the missionaries for protection; naturally it was very unwilling to interfere where it had no proper jurisdiction; but the memory of Livingstone, the sacredness of the cause and the atrocious treatment of British subjects at last overcame its reluctance.

But here it is necessary to explain the relations in which Britain now stood to the region governed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and to the lakes in particular. There were old and intimate commercial relations between Britain and Zanzibar. The Sultan was very friendly, and had to a certain extent co-operated with Britain in the suppression of the slave trade. A distinguished and wealthy merchant, very friendly to Christian missions, and to the schemes of Livingstone, afterwards Sir William McKinnon, having, in 1877, as Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company, connected Zanzibar with India and Europe by a regular line of mail steamers, was on very friendly terms with the Sultan, who offered to lease his territories to him—an offer which McKinnon could not accept without the aid of the British government, which was not to be obtained. About this

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time, Germany was making most strenuous efforts to obtain control of the whole of that part of Africa, and though Britain might well claim prior rights from her connection with Zanzibar and the lakes, the indifference of the British government might have left Germany in possession of the whole field, but ultimately, in 1890, an agreement was come to, by which the lake region was included in the British sphere. About 1886, along with a few congenial friends, Sir William McKinnon formed a company, entitled the British East Africa Association, for the administration of the territories which Britain had obtained in that part of Africa. For this a royal charter was obtained in 1888, and the headquarters of the company were fixed at the port of Mombasa. Uganda was reached in 1890, and in accordance with the Anglo-German agreement of that year, the company's flag was displayed. But this was the time when the affairs of Uganda were in utter confusion (as we have seen) and its future was extremely uncertain.

Post tenebras lux. We can but glance at a most interesting chapter of the history. Captain Lugard was sent by the company with a small force to grapple with the Uganda disorders and endeavor to settle the affairs of the country. He accomplished his object with consummate skill and most remarkable success. The country was thoroughly pacified. But the resources of the company were now exhausted, and without aid from the British government they were helpless. In particular they were unable to construct a light railway of 500 miles between Uganda and Mombasa, which was deemed indispensable to the successful administration of the country. The government would do nothing, and the evacuation of Uganda seemed imminent. But by this time the missionaries were reaping a great harvest, public opinion was wonderfully roused, and the pressure on the government compelled them to yield. Sir Gerald Porter was sent out to report on the state of things. In June, 1894, it was announced in Parliament that the government had resolved to retain Uganda, and to administer it as a protectorate under a commissioner.

So much, then, for the modern partition of Africa. It may be asked, what right had these European powers to seize on the property of the native tribes, and bring them into a state of subjection? Was this an honest, a defensible transaction?

It was the opinion of Dr. Livingstone that mere occupation

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did not constitute a valid title to a country, unless the people occupying it were really cultivating its soil and doing something to develop its resources. It can hardly be said that the nations of Africa were doing that. Moreover, the slave trade was rampant in many places and attended by unutterable horrors. And most of the chiefs exercised their authority with abominable tyranny and cruelty. Further, European occupation has been in almost all cases the result of treaties with native chiefs, although these chiefs may often have been ignorant of what the treaties really meant. Any transactions of this kind should be carried out with great forbearance and generous consideration of the reasonable claims and even prejudices of the natives. But here is where many have failed. Europeans, ignorant of the native character, and forgetful of their special circumstances and claims, have often carried things with a high hand, and treated the natives whose country they were occupying with harshness and cruelty. The natives have been goaded to rebellion, when tact and consideration would have made them friends. With honorable exceptions, Europeans have used the airs and arrogance of a superior race and treated the natives with supercilious contempt. How different from Livingstone and his three requisites for gaining influence with the natives—good principles, good manners, and good conduct!

On the other hand, we may reasonably expect that the European protectorates will issue in great good to the Dark Continent. Already we are able to point hopefully to first fruits. The slave trade was the great open sore of Africa, which caused the benediction of Livingstone to fall on "whosoever—American, English, or Turk—would help to heal it." And, thank God, the slave trade has been powerfully checked; although, owing to the vastness of the country, and the fewness and smallness of the European settlements, it has not yet been obliterated. We may reasonably cherish the hope that as time passes on it will be hemmed in within narrower and narrower limits, and at length disappear. No European state will be worthy of its position if it does not strive to its very utmost to put an end to this infamous evil.

Further, in the Lake region especially, we can point to many other excellent results of the protectorate. The country is now orderly and peaceable, its resources are being developed, and its

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missionary operations have been attended with singular success. The lives of Bishop Hannington and Alexander Mackay show the early difficulties and tragic history of the operations of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda. Recent accounts tell of missionary triumph. From statements issued by that society it appears that in Uganda, at the end of 1896, there were 300 churches, 5,000 baptized adults, 15,000 in preparation, and 23,000 readers of "the first reading-book." Reading-books are in great demand, and it is reckoned that there are 100,000 who seem to be on the way to profess Christianity. Beyond Uganda openings for the Gospel are presenting themselves on every side. It was only in 1875 that Stanley first called for a mission in Uganda; so late as 1885 the mission seemed doomed to destruction when Bishop Hannington was murdered and the native converts tortured to death; now, even the resources of the Church Missionary Society are unable to keep pace with the marvellous expansion of the work and the crowds of converts and enquirers that are pouring in.

Livingstone's peculiar field, the neighborhood of Lake Nyassa, is now a separate protectorate, administered under the British government by a commissioner. During his six years of office Sir Harry Johnston has done his work admirably. The results of his administration are presented in his reports to the British government, and likewise in the book which has just been published, entitled *British Central Africa* (Methuen, 1897). Sir Harry has not only been of great service in difficult dealings with the Portuguese and the Germans, but he has thrown himself with the greatest ardor into his special work, and lost sight of no interest bearing on the prosperity of the country. Happily peace now reigns for the most part over Nyassaland, although there are some, and one tribe in particular, whose voice is still for war. But generally the natives are becoming more and more friendly to the British government, and more and more sensible of the benefits it brings. Some of the native tribes of Nyassaland are superior to the ordinary negro, show themselves quick and clever in some kinds of work, particularly telegraphy, and give promise of carrying out civilized ways of living with considerable success. And it is in the hands of the natives that the country must continue in the future. Livingstone's idea of white colonies cannot be carried into effect to any considerable extent, for though some

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healthy men have, with great care, kept their health for years, and though the high portions of the country are fairly habitable by the white man, yet it is the low grounds that are most fertile, and one of the benefits of the freedom from fighting that is becoming prevalent is that the natives are leaving the barren heights to which they have been accustomed to resort for protection, and bringing the fertile lowlands into cultivation. Uganda seems to be more promising for colonization than Nyassaland.

The population of Nyassaland is estimated at about 800,000; the white population is 289. Of these 118 are Scotch, 109 English, 5 Irish, 21 South Africans, 13 Germans, and the rest of various nationalities. On the Lower Shiré and Zambesi there are nearly twenty steamers; on the Upper Shiré and Lake Nyassa there are three steamers and many boats. There are about twenty post-offices in the protectorate. The value of the year's trade from April 1, 1895, to March 30, 1896, was £102,428.

We have before us reports from all the chief missions in the protectorate, full of interest and encouragement. Want of space prevents us from adverting to these in detail; but we may briefly note the summary of their results as given by Sir Harry Johnston, the more especially because he has never been an indiscriminate admirer of mission work in its higher aspects.

Of the Universities Mission (the first in the country) he remarks that since its return to the mainland in 1882 it has been greatly tried by its having to deal with the Yao people, who have been exceedingly hostile to us, and from its having placed its headquarters on the island of Lacoma, intended to be a sort of modern Iona, but found to be very unhealthy. They have another station at Kolakola, and besides European agents, male and female, employ many native assistants, chiefly in their numerous schools. They also train natives as painters, carpenters, masons, etc., and several of these find employment at Zomba, where the headquarters of the protectorate administration are situated.

The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland came next in order. In 1875, it sent out Dr. Robert Laws, an admirable missionary, who is now next to the oldest pioneer in the country. Its educational, industrial, medical, and missionary work has been highly successful. It has done much service in translation. "It has prospered," says Sir Harry, "almost more

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than any other mission in the country as regards development and the success of its teaching."

The Blantyre Mission of the Church of Scotland, in the Shiré Highlands, was begun in 1876. It owns a handsome church, built wholly by natives. It, too, has been very helpful in translation. It is strong in educational and industrial work, and prints two English monthly magazines and one native paper.

There are some smaller missions at work in Nyassaland on similar lines and with encouraging results. Lake Tanganyika was occupied in 1877 by the London Missionary Society. The early history of that mission was one of grievous calamity, through ill health, death, fires, and accidents. The mission here too has taken root, and is bearing fruit that amply encourages the workers, and shows that its many pioneer sacrifices have not been in vain. "On the whole," says Sir Harry, "I can say of all mission-work in British Central Africa that it has only to tell the plain truth, and nothing but the truth, to secure sympathy and support."

It is not merely the fact that civilization and Christianity have been firmly established in the Lake region that calls for congratulation, but that the capacity of the African to receive these influences and benefit by them has been amply proved. If only the European powers, and those somewhat suspicious bodies which we call "Chartered Companies," would realize their responsibilities, and devote their energies not to the mere accumulation of wealth, but to the moral and intellectual elevation of the natives, we might cherish a lively hope of bright days for Africa.

"Find Livingstone," was not spoken by the editor of *The New York Herald* in vain. Stanley, converted into an explorer, gave an impetus to Livingstone's projects that has carried them to completion; and the visions that filled his imagination when he discovered Lake Nyassa, once so cruelly frustrated, now bid fair to be realized.

W. Garden Blaikie.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE IN INTERNATIONAL ATHLETICS.

BY HAMBLEN SEARS.

THE history of athletic meetings between Englishmen and Americans leaves it doubtful whether the results of these contests can be regarded as tests of the relative physical prowess of American and English athletes. Other factors have to be reckoned with, and this fact has been so obvious that the question has arisen: Is it possible for American athletes competing in England or for British athletes competing in the United States to equal, respectively, their own best work at home? To this question no satisfactory answer has yet been given; but it may not be uninteresting to consider it in the light of facts drawn from the international sports of recent years.

A close examination of the few international boat races seems to show that, while we have lost all but one, the loss has been largely attributable in each case to climatic influences. The Harvard four-oared crew which went to England in 1869 and rowed Oxford on the Thames from Putney to Mortlake, a distance of four miles and two furlongs, was probably the best amateur four-oared crew that had been known in this country up to that time. When this crew left the United States, another four-oar was organized at Cambridge for the annual meeting with Yale. The men on this crew were not in the same class with those who went abroad. In fact, considerable difficulty was encountered in getting four men together who could meet Yale on anything like equal terms. A few weeks before the race took place in England, word was received that bow and stroke of the Harvard crew had suddenly collapsed; though the men, when they arrived on the Thames, had been in the best of condition. The collapsed bow and stroke gave place to two of the men from

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the "second" Harvard boat, who at once proceeded to England. There were but few days in which the new crew could be trained, and hence the new men were obliged to go into the race practically before they had become settled in their boat. At the end of the race, which was lost to Oxford by six seconds, the two who had but just arrived were able to pull the distance through, while the two remaining oarsmen of the original crew collapsed at the finish. Here was the case of a good crew giving out in part after a few weeks' sojourn in the Thames valley, and the other two collapsing at the end of the race; while the two supposedly inferior men, newly arrived from the steamer, had strength still left within them when the fight was done.

Nine years later, in 1878, Columbia sent a four-oared crew to Henley for the mile and a furlong race. The boat was entered for the Stewards' Challenge Cup, and lost in the first heat to a crew that was defeated in the final heat. Later, Columbia won the Visitors' Challenge Cup, the competition for which was not so strong as for those in the more important contests.

In 1881 again Cornell sent a four-oared crew to Henley—a crew that had just won from all-comers at the American Intercollegiate Regatta on Lake George. They trained some time on the Thames and lost in an early heat. Other American crews, made up from rowing clubs, have entered the Henley races, but they have never succeeded in winning final heats.

The experiences of the Cornell and Yale crews in 1895 and 1896, respectively, are familiar matters, and they throw much interesting light on the question of training in foreign climes. The more these experiences are studied, the more evident it becomes that the differences of stroke have had less to do with victory or defeat in the international races on record than has the training of the men as influenced by the climatic conditions of the Thames Valley. Cornell, just before leaving for England in 1895 had a time row, and did the one mile and a furlong in a little under seven minutes. They then crossed the ocean and arrived in capital condition. Practice was begun at once on the Thames at Henley, and shortly after they were settled in their new quarters they did the distance on the course itself in something a little over seven minutes. Not many days later, they did the course in seven minutes and five seconds, when several Englishmen took the time. The day of the race with Trinity,

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after the Leander walkover, they were beaten by the comparatively slow time of seven minutes and fourteen seconds. And the significant feature of the race, from our point of view, is that they were not only beaten, but that the crew collapsed about three hundred yards before reaching the finish. Here was a set of healthy men who rowed in their own country under seven minutes, and who gradually fell off in the strange country first to a little over seven minutes, then to seven minutes and five seconds, and who finally died a sixth of a mile before they reached the finish, trying to catch a crew which they had led for the first half of the race and which did the course in seven minutes and fourteen seconds.

Many reasons were given at the time for this defeat, the principal ones being that a forty-four stroke to the minute was not equal to a thirty-four, that the excitement of being in a strange land destroyed the nerve of the men, and finally that the rigging of the boat was not equal to Trinity's. But, looking at the matter in the light of history, and comparing this Cornell race with what followed as well as with what preceded it, the condition of the men at the time of the race appears to have been a controlling factor in the result.

The case of Yale in 1896 is precisely similar in its general features. Yale did better time on the course when her men first arrived than she did in the race. Leander finished in seven minutes and fourteen seconds, the same time as that made by Trinity the year before. But, though Yale came over the line less than two lengths behind, the Americans were completely exhausted, the Englishmen being still remarkably strong. The stroke cannot be given as a reason for this defeat, as Mr. Cook had a thirty-four to thirty-six stroke in his boat with long swing and narrow blades by the time the race came off. The definite point is that Yale, like Cornell and Harvard, did not, during the race, equal her best time done on the Thames that season, and that in all three cases the longer the men remained in the country the poorer was their time.

There is but one instance of an English crew's experiences in the United States. This was during the International Rowing Regatta held at Philadelphia during the Centennial Exposition of 1876. The Leander Boat Club and the London Rowing Club each sent a four-oared crew to enter these races, and the history

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of the contests has little in it to prove or disprove the statement that crews in strange waters are handicapped by conditions. A four-oared crew which was stroked by Mr. Cook, the present Yale coach, was defeated by the London Rowing Club by a small margin, and the Leander boat steered such a wild course that they not only lost, but were completely out of the race.

During Henley week the races open to the world include those for the Grand Challenge Cup, eight oars; the Stewards' Challenge Cup, four-oars; the Visitors' Challenge Cup, four-oars; the Thames Challenge Cup, eight-oars; the Wyford Challenge Cup, four-oars; the Silver Goblets, pair-oars, and the Diamond Sculls for singles. Naturally, by far the greater number of entries for each of these events have been English; but during recent years a number of Canadian, American, Dutch, and other boats have been entered, and each season there are some foreign crews competing for most of the cups. In considering the following table, while the result rather overstates the case, there is nevertheless much to be learned from the fact that Englishmen win by far the greater number of events.

ANNUAL RACES.	ESTABLISHED.	NATIONALITY OF WINNERS.
Grand Challenge Cup, eight-oar.....	1839	English every year.
Stewards' Challenge Cup, four-oar..	1842	" " "
Visitors' Challenge Cup, four-oar....	1847	" " " except Columbia, 1878.
Thames Challenge Cup, eight-oar....	1868	English every year.
Wyford Challenge Cup, four-oar.....	1855	" " "
Silver Goblets, pair-oar.....	1845	" " "
Diamond Sculls, single.....	1844	" " " except Ten Eyck, of Worcester, Mass., in 1897.

In the Diamond Sculls, where most of the foreign entries have been made, no American has ever won until this year, and this summer the final heat was between two Americans. The important fact is that Ten Eyck completely outclassed all the Englishmen.

Look at the two systems of training and then consider the climate along the Thames and along Long Island Sound. The American system of training, which is very generally in vogue among all the colleges in the northeastern portion of the United States, is to row all through the winter indoors in tanks, to run after practice, and end up the day's labor by going through a drill with pulley weights. In the early spring, as soon as the rivers are open, the men get into their boats and row in the after-

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noon six days in the week, practising in pair oars in the morning. Towards the early days of June the crews go to New London or Poughkeepsie and do nothing but row for three weeks. The eight go out in the morning and in the afternoon, pair oared work being slipped in between times. This continues without respite, except on Sundays, till two or three days before the race. The food during this time is hearty; and variety, within certain limits, is allowed. Drinking is confined to water in small quantities and to milk, with an occasional bottle of ale for dinner.

In England the coaching for crews is so different that little or no comparison is possible. The 'Varsity crews of Oxford and Cambridge are not chosen until after the college boat races in December. Then the 'Varsity boats are made up from the best men in the college eights, and they are trained six weeks at Henley. There is little or no competition for places in the boat, and each man comes to his place an already accomplished oarsman, well taught in the one stroke used in England. He has nothing new to learn. He needs merely to get in with the other seven. With us many a man rows for the first time when he sits in a 'Varsity boat, and he must, therefore, be actually taught to row. Others come from class crews, and they perhaps have to unlearn the stroke in order to pick up the new one taught by the 'Varsity coach. The element of instruction is, therefore, present in our boats, as well as that of team work; whereas in England the time is devoted solely to perfecting an already well-known stroke. The Henley crews are made up after the 'Varsity races, and the training is confined to a few short weeks on the course. Their climate is such that they can row out-of-doors all the year round if they choose to, and hence gymnasiums are practically unknown in England. The business of "getting into condition" is not a feature of their work. They row continually, and the training is merely the work of a coach in making eight of them row together. From time to time, during the weeks when the crew are training at Henley, they are taken away from the Thames, and sent on a trip to Brighton, on the English Channel, where Saturday and Sunday are spent away from rowing, and in a different atmosphere. Our crews, however, are accustomed when they are on the British Thames to keep up their hard work morning and afternoon, rowing six days in the week; and each time they have lost their sprint quality before the day of the intended race. Yale, in

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1896, was unable in the last half of the race to get the stroke up above thirty-four, while Trinity reached thirty-eight. The energy of the men was gone after three-quarters of a mile. They might have kept to the thirty-four stroke for four miles, but they had neither the snap nor the strength to meet Langford's endeavor to keep the speed of the stroke up to the spurting point for one mile and a furlong.

This would go to suggest that the hard training of American athletes is too much for the low malarial valley of the Thames; or, to put it otherwise, that the damp, enervating climate of England does not require and cannot stand such severe training as does and can the more vigorous atmosphere of New England.

A most interesting and instructive bit of additional evidence in this matter has just been given in the Poughkeepsie races which took place at the end of June and in early July. Harvard, coached by Mr. R. C. Lehman, perhaps the best rowing teacher in the world, not only lost the race, but the stroke oar collapsed just before the race ended, and the forward men in the boat were as near to a state of collapse as they could well be. The style of stroke could scarcely be to blame for this, as Yale rowed practically the same, and though all the discussions as to the weakening effect of long body swings may have some sound basis of reasoning, they cannot explain this difference between Yale and Harvard on this occasion. Consider rather the situation as it was, remembering at the same time that a man who is overtrained will show the same state of mind and body as one who is not trained at all. Mr. Lehman is accustomed to the Thames Valley, a much more enervating climate than ours. He trained the men for this. He gave them Saturday and Sunday off, in much the same way as he does to his crews in England. He let them have claret and gave them occasional dinners with wine, just as he has done for years with his crews when they ran down to Brighton for their rest. Then the Harvard men had a rest of a week or ten days before the race. The result was that, after taking the lead at the start, they collapsed before the finish, precisely after the manner of Cornell and Yale in the preceding years on the Thames. These crews, coached according to American methods, were overtrained in England, and the Harvard crew, coached by English methods, was actually undertrained in the United States. And though the Leander crew of 1896 and

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the Cornell crew of 1897 were both remarkably fast crews, the state of collapse to which their opponents were reduced at the close of both races was caused by condition and not by stroke.

To a sufficiently marked extent the same is true of other sports in the athletic class, the results being distinctly traceable in each case to condition, and not always to style and physique. The London Athletic Club track team which came to America two years ago not only had to run on the hottest fifth of September which either we or they had ever known, and which naturally affected them more than it did our men, but Mr. Horan, Mr. Jordan, and others of the team found that with their methods of training they could not get into trim or keep there in this climate. Their diet was less restricted than that of their American rivals. Their exercise was light compared with that of our men. They did not run as often in the week, nor train as severely during the time they were running. Some of them gave as a reason for this that they could not stand the hot weather, and no doubt the heat had much to do with their taking less exercise; but the New York Athletic Club men and those who represented Yale maintained during all this time their regular training, which involved exercise, food, and hours that would have completely prostrated the Englishmen. Some of the latter felt just before the meets that they were not at all up to their usual mark; yet during the races the long-distance men fairly equalled their records, and it was only in the sprinting events that they fell short. Their capacity for nervous, sudden, short work had to a certain extent gone. This again was attributed to the heat; but the heat, if that alone had affected them, must necessarily have shown its results in the long distances as well as in the short ones.

In like manner, when the Yale track team went to England to meet Oxford in July, 1894, they came upon certain conditions in athletics that were new to them. These might in themselves be sufficient to defeat one team by causing it to lose two or three points. But comparing this meet with that of the Cambridge-Yale team here, and both with the London Athletic Club, the differences in customs and rules do not fit all three cases. On the other hand, here are the facts of the three meets. The Yale men in England, with records in the 100-yards of $10\frac{1}{5}$ seconds, were beaten by Fry and Jordan in $10\frac{2}{5}$ seconds, and that was as

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good as Jordan had ever done before. Cady, the Yale hurdler, was beaten in 16⅘ seconds, and fell while trying to keep up with Oakley, of Oxford, though he had a record in America of 16 seconds flat, and Oakley had never beaten 16⅘. Sanford, holding the half-mile record of 50⅘, was beaten by Jordan in 51 seconds. In the hammer throwing, broad jumping, and weight putting events, however, the case was quite different. Sheldon won the broad jump in 22 feet 11 inches, which was nearly up to his regular standard, while Hickok put the shot 41 feet 4¼ inches, and threw the hammer 110 feet 5 inches, both of which were good exhibitions of what might be expected of him, and both of which won. The Englishmen here in the United States in the following year failed to equal their sprints, with the exception of Bradley, while in the long distances Jordan did very nearly as well as he had ever done, and Robertson came up to his regular distances with the hammer and shot.

What is the reason for this? It appears to be that the snap which wins races is taken out of Englishmen competing in America and Americans competing in England; that those events which depend most on the nerves and exact conditions of mind and body are most affected, and disastrously so, by the altered conditions which the contestants meet in foreign countries. It was said by high authorities in such matters at the time of the Yale-Oxford meet that the Yale men were over-trained, that the result of the games showed that our system of training was too severe, and that we should study the English systems and benefit thereby. No doubt the Yale men were over-trained for that meet in England, but the critics missed an important point in their discussions. For, though the Americans had been trained too severely for England, they were not over-trained the next year in America for a similar meet, though the same man trained them in both years in precisely the same way, according to the same systems, for the same events; and they won in this country and lost in England against practically the same men. In other words, the system of training which is required by the American climate to bring a man to a fit condition is too severe to bring him to the same condition in the English climate.

It appears, therefore, that if Americans are to run or row with Englishmen in England they must do it within ten days after their arrival there; that is to say, before the condition of the

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men has become affected by the climate and after they have sufficiently recovered from sea-sickness and the cramping influences of shipboard. Even then the trip over the sea must always be a handicap; and hence an international event of this nature can scarcely be a fair test of relative strength.

What is shown in relation to this when other sports are considered, which are not so sensitive to variation in the regularity of training? What have we done in tennis, golf, cricket, racquets, and baseball? There have been but few meetings between Englishmen and Americans in these sports; but such as have occurred go far to witness that in such sports the representatives of the two nations are on evener terms in either country provided they start comparatively even in ability. Englishmen, of course, play cricket better than we do. They are brought up on it and should defeat us in the majority of cases, as we can defeat them in baseball. Still, the capacity of the American for playing any game is well illustrated by the work which the Gentlemen of Philadelphia have done in England this summer. They have shown surprising and unexpected ability in their encounters with the best teams in England. Speaking generally, however, cricket requires no training, that is, no such variation from ordinary diet, or hours of sleep and exercise, as the hundred-yard dash, for example, requires; and the players are less susceptible, therefore, to changes in climatic conditions. That this is the case seems to be indicated by the work of the Philadelphia team, as well as by that of the British teams which have from time to time visited this country. The same can be said in a general way of tennis and racquets. As a rule the Englishmen can defeat us here and in England in both these sports, because we have not gone in for these two athletic games as they have. Nevertheless our representatives when in England have as a rule made quite as creditable a showing as they were expected to do, judging from their work here.

The influences of climate on physical condition in rowing and track athletics correspond to the influences of water, winds, and courses on models and sailing tactics in yacht racing. We have not succeeded since the days of the "America" in defeating English boats in English waters, and English boats have been invariably beaten here. The choppy seas of the Channel and the complications in the semi-inside courses are all unknown to us on this side

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of the Atlantic. Besides this, the necessity for constructing a craft that can cross the Atlantic is as much of a handicap to the visiting boat as is the sea voyage to the athletic man. Yacht models are practically alike to-day so far as general lines go, but the man who is sailing in his own waters has an infinite advantage, and for an Englishman to win outside Sandy Hook or an American in the Solent means that the boat in each case must practically outclass the other, which was, in fact, the case with the "America."

Here appears to be a fact established, therefore, that in certain athletic sports the American competes in England under practically fatal disadvantages, as does the Englishman in America. It seems probable that for many years to come these particular sports cannot be conducted in international meetings on terms which are even for both sides; and it may be that if we are ever to secure absolutely even conditions between the teams engaging in international events the teams will have to be trained in the country where they are to compete; which means that the men composing them must practically become for the time inhabitants of the country they would otherwise merely visit.

This seems like a pessimistic view of international athletics. While, however, the hope of winning victory is one of the factors which keeps sport alive, it is not the only reason for athletic games. One of the two contestants in any competition must lose; and defeat, though a disappointment, is never a disgrace, provided the loser has done his best in preparation and during the contest. In spite of the fact, therefore, that we are likely to lose in England, and that Englishmen are reasonably certain to be defeated in this country, so much may be learned of each nation by the other through international competitions, as well as of sport by both, and so much may be acquired by Americans of their cousins' larger experience in athletics, that we at least should encourage these athletic meetings on either or both sides, of the Atlantic. We may not win half the victories in England but we shall learn much of sport and do a great deal for outdoor life in our own country, as indeed we have done through the meetings that have already occurred.

HAMBLEN SEARS.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CITY.

BY THE REV. JOSIAH STRONG, D. D.

LEGISLATIVE enactment creates a "Greater New York." It has also been decreed by the laws of our social life that there are to be a greater Boston and Philadelphia, a greater Chicago and San Francisco. The city is to contain an ever-increasing proportion of the population and to constitute a factor of ever-increasing importance in the national life.

The accelerated rate of growth of the city in modern times is illustrated by New York. Settled in 1614, it took the city 175 years to gain the first 33,000 inhabitants. During the next 50 years it gained 280,000. During the next 30 years it gained 630,000; and during the next 21 years, which ended in 1890, it gained 859,000. In the last short period the gain was twenty-six times as great as during the first long period, and the rate of gain was 208 times greater. The census of 1890 showed that this metropolitan city contained a larger population than any one of twenty-eight great states of the Union.

In 1790 only three per cent. of our population was urban; in 1890, twenty-nine per cent. The number of the cities in the United States a hundred years ago was six; in 1880 there were 286; ten years later there were 443.

For a time it was supposed that this wonderful growth of cities in the New World was due to the exceptional conditions of a new civilization. But though London's history runs back many hundreds of years, four-fifths of her growth have been made during this century. It is found that in Europe, in Asia, and even in Africa, wherever the breath of nineteenth century civilization has been felt, it has breathed new life into cities.

This sudden concentration of population is often spoken of

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as a congestion, and is believed by many to be abnormal and temporary. It has brought perplexing problems, as yet unsolved, which some have imagined would find their solution in a reaction of population toward the country. But no warrant for such an expectation is to be found in the causes of the city's recent growth. This movement of population from country to city, which is one of the most significant phenomena of modern times, is due primarily to three causes: (1.) The application of machinery to agriculture, which enables four men to do the work formerly done by fourteen; (2.) the rise of manufactures in the cities, which attracts the men released from the farms, and (3.) the railway, which not only makes the transfer of population easy, but, which is more important, makes it possible to feed a massed population, no matter how vast.

There is a gregarious instinct in men, which has always made the city as large as it could well be; and these three causes have liberated and emphasized this instinct during this century. As this instinct and these causes are all permanent, it is obvious that this tendency will prove permanent.

Some have imagined that the pressure upon the city might be relieved and the miseries of the slum modified by removing families to unoccupied lands and teaching them to engage in agriculture, and steps have been taken in this direction. But those who expect to solve or even to simplify the problem by this method fail to appreciate the profound change which has come over the world's industry during this century, by which it has ceased to be individual and has become organized; a change which is destined to exert more influence on material conditions and on the social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual life of man than did the discovery of America, the invention of gunpowder or the art of printing. Doubtless this transition is the most important material change which has ever taken place in the history of the race. It has separated as by an impassable gulf the simple, homespun, individualistic life of the world's past from the complex, closely associated life of the present and of the world's future.

In the age of homespun, which, for most of our population, reached well on toward the middle of this century, the typical farmer could not only till his own soil, but build his own house, make his own furniture, and many of his own tools. His wife

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could take the wool as it came from the sheep's back, dye, cord, spin and weave it, and then make it into a coat for her husband. That is, they could together do in a rough way work which now represents ten or a dozen trades. Their wants were simple, and most of them they could supply with their own hands. Such a couple could have raised a family in comparative comfort, if they had been alone on the continent. They were practically independent of the whole world.

The organization of industry has changed all this. In it was involved the division of labor. The work of one trade was divided between a dozen or twenty machines, each fed by a different man and each dependent on all the others. Moreover, great branches of industry have become linked together in a kind of endless chain of interdependence, so that one link cannot move far unless the other links move with it.

There has resulted a manifold multiplication of the products of labor, which has powerfully stimulated wants and greatly elevated the standard of living; and, further, we have become dependent on well nigh all the world.

Poets have sung the independence of the farmer, but that independence forever ceased with the transition from the age of homespun to that of the division and organization of labor; and this fact has a most significant bearing on the future growth of cities. When the farmer could directly provide for himself the necessities of life and patronized the tradesmen for little more than its luxuries, the number of farmers might have been indefinitely multiplied so long as unoccupied land remained; and if we could reverse the motion of the earth and roll it back into the age of homespun, we might relieve the pressure upon the city by planting families on unoccupied land; but with the division of labor this became impossible. The farmer can now do but one thing, and that is to farm. He can supply the many wants of his family only by turning his produce into money, which means that he must farm for the market. This fact makes him dependent on the demand and supply of the world. Now it should be observed that the world's demand for food must necessarily be limited and that the food supply to-day is equal to the demands of the civilized world to-day. It is true there is want even to starvation, but that is due to the lack of distribution, not to any lack of production. There are already more persons engaged in

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farming than are needed, with the improved agricultural implements of recent years, to supply the world's demands for food, and that accounts for the general depression of agriculture in Europe and America during recent years.

If we could transfer 100,000 families from our crowded cities to unoccupied land, and so train them as to make them successful farmers, the world would not consume any more food to accommodate them. They could succeed only by getting the market, and they could get the market only by driving 100,000 other farmers out of it, which would mean driving them off the farm and into the city.

Again, efforts are being made to relieve agriculture by improving its methods. It is said, "If men farm with their brains, they will make money, and then they will remain on the farm." By all means let us make farming intelligent. Indeed, if we do not, we shall lose much of our hold on the European market. We have been able to command that market by reason of our cheap virgin soil, notwithstanding our wasteful methods. But American competion, after first causing great depression, has at length created a remarkable agricultural revival in Europe. Governments have afforded powerful aid through the Departments or Ministries of Agriculture. Subsidies have been granted, prizes offered, agricultural academies and colleges founded, and free lecture courses established. By every means the people are being instructed and encouraged; and their new activity is manifested in the co-operative agricultural societies which are rapidly multiplying on the Continent. Some 6,500 such societies have been formed in France and 7,200 in Prussia. It is said that in Denmark there is now a co-operative dairy in every parish.

Our American agriculture must certainly be more intelligent if it is to retain its markets, but the attempt to stop the exodus from the country by better farming will prove worse than futile. Intelligent farming succeeds because a given amount of effort when intelligently directed produces greater results. Inasmuch, then, as the amount of food which the world can consume is limited, the more intelligent the farming is the smaller will be the number of farmers required to produce the needed supply; so that the more intelligent farming becomes the larger will be the number of farmers driven from country to city.

Of course population will increase; but increased production

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by reason of improved methods is likely to keep pace with it for many years to come. Good judges tell us that our present agricultural product could be doubled without any increase of acreage under cultivation, simply by reasonably good methods.

It has been pointed out that the world's demand for food is necessarily limited. This fact places a natural limit to the number of men who can successfully devote themselves to producing the food supply; but there is no such natural and necessary limit to the world's consumption in other directions. In palaces and gardens, in furniture and equipages, in dress and ornaments, in paintings and statuary, the purse sets the only limit of expenditure. If the world were a thousand times as rich as it is, it could spend a thousand times as much as it does on such objects; it could consume but little more food.

This harmonizes perfectly with what is known as Engel's economic law. Dr. Engel, formerly head of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, tells us that the percentage of outlay for subsistence grows smaller as the income grows larger; that the percentage of outlay for rent, fuel, light, and clothing remains the same, or approximately the same, whatever the income; and that the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater as income increases.

From all this it follows that, as population and wealth increase, an ever-enlarging proportion of men must get their living by means of the mechanical and the fine arts; or, in other words, an ever-increasing proportion of population must live in cities.

Our free institutions are based on two fundamental principles, viz.: local self-government and federation. These are alike necessary; the former to the exercise of our liberties, the latter to their preservation. The principle of federation was imperilled a generation ago, and the nation poured out blood and treasure to save it. To-day, South and North alike agree that this principle is to stand in its integrity.

But while patriotism was at the front defending the Union, the other fundamental principle was being quietly subverted at home. Selfish men gained control of municipal governments for personal ends. Conditions made it easy for the political boss to compact his power and to perfect his machine. The inevitable result was the development of bottomless corruption and un-

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blushing outrage upon the rights and liberties of the people; and, as a rule, the larger the city the more completely did it become boss-ridden.

Professor Bryce declares that the one conspicuous failure of American institutions is the government of our great cities, which every intelligent man knows to be true. The State limits the liberties of its cities. It does not dare to trust them with full autonomy. Thus one of our two fundamental principles, that of local self-government, is in question; and in our great cities it has failed. This makes painfully significant and ominous the rapid and inevitable growth of our cities.

We have for years relied upon the country vote to hold the cities in check, but the time is soon coming when the cities will take matters into their own hands. If the rate of growth from 1880 to 1890 continues, in 1920 the cities of the United States will contain 10,000,000 more than one-half of the population. The city will then control State and nation. What if the city is then incapable of self-government?

The greater part of our population must live in cities—cities much greater than the world has yet seen—cities which by their preponderance of numbers and of wealth must inevitably control civilization and destiny; and we must learn—though we have not yet learned—to live in cities with safety to our health, our morals, and our liberties.

When great populations are massed together there are multiplied relations whose harmony must be preserved. A mistake is farther reaching; it has a longer leverage. If, therefore, the people are to govern, they must be made better acquainted with the principles of government as population and municipal problems increase. And a higher morality is even more essential. As civilization becomes more complex, the division of labor becomes more minute, and the individual becomes more fractional and dependent. Under such conditions it is increasingly important that men should be dependable. More complicated relations require a more delicate conscience and a stronger sense of justice, for under them any failure in character or conduct is farther reaching and more disastrous in its results.

The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship, for which we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the

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young. Evidently our public schools must give to the children and youth of to-day such instruction in the duties and principles of good citizenship as earlier generations did not have. Literature dealing with American citizenship, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course.

We dare not rely on campaigns of enthusiasm ; it is still true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. If tidal waves come, they also go. If our liberties are to be secure, patriotism must be, not a mere impulse, but a fixed principle, rooted in the heart, informing the mind and inspiring the life.

JOSIAH STRONG.

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FARMERS' INSTITUTES AND THEIR WORK.

BY FREDERIC W. TAYLOR, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FARMERS' INSTITUTE MANAGERS.

WITHIN recent years the idea has gone abroad that education may be taken to a larger constituency than it is possible to reach by the schools of higher grade through the ordinary channels. This idea has received the name "University Extension," and in one form or another the work has been attempted along various lines with varying results.

The University Extension idea contemplates the facilitating the study by the people of certain higher branches by means of lectures, which are usually given by university professors in the same way as are their class-room lectures. Meetings of the local centres, as they are sometimes called, are held as frequently as possible, perhaps weekly, and a regular amount of home preparation is expected of those in attendance. In many cases this work has been very successful, making possible the acquirement of systematic training by those who might otherwise never have been able to make any addition to the, perhaps slight, education which they acquired in the public schools.

But there has been developed, more or less directly from University Extension, a work among farmers and others engaged in rural occupations which has outstripped, in far-reaching effects and in point of numbers touched, all the other forms of extension work. This has taken to itself the name of "Farmers' Institutes," and has made itself felt all over the United States, as well as in the provinces of British North America. Nearly every State in the Union now has some sort of an arrangement under which Farmers' Institutes are held, and in such States as have no specific appropriation for this work, there are movements on foot to bring about the granting of funds for it. At least thirteen States

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now make legislative appropriations for Farmers' Institutes, and in as many more there is regularly organized work done, in some cases by the State University, in others by the United States Experiment Station, established in each State under the Hatch act, while in still other States the initiative has been taken by the Land Grant Agricultural College of the State. During the winter of 1896–7 several States held more than a hundred Institutes each and more than a dozen States held above fifty each.

A study of the manner of growth in a single State may serve to indicate pretty clearly what has been the experience in almost every State in which the Institutes have gained a strong foothold.

Some of the progressive farmers in certain communities gathered together a number of their neighbors, about a dozen years ago, with the thought that an interchange of ideas might be beneficial, and that if some of those who had been successful in certain lines, as in stock growing, for instance, could be persuaded to describe their methods, their brethren might adopt such as seemed fitted to their special needs, thus making possible more satisfactory results in that particular branch of agriculture. After a few such gatherings, speakers of training and reputation were sought for, who could command the confidence of their hearers and attract to the meetings the most intelligent and successful farmers. It seemed natural to turn to the State University for trained men to fill this place on the programme.

Soon, however, the calls became so frequent that a loss of time and money resulted from the fact that the points asking assistance were located in widely separated and distant parts of the State. Then arose the necessity of entrusting the arrangements for sending out speakers to one person, who should make the appointments in series, so that a speaker going to a distant part of the State might reach several points in the course of one trip. There was developed a bureau for conducting the work of the Institutes, to which was referred all correspondence on that subject. The university, soon finding itself unable to supply all the speakers required, would call on the various State societies to supply speakers on subjects coming within the scope of their work.

This is the actual record of the growth of Institute work in one State, and it is only a type of what has been going on in nearly all the States.

After the various organizations and societies in a State for

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promoting the spread of education through this means have united their forces, it has usually been only a short time until the expansion has been so great as to make it necessary to ask the Legislature for a direct appropriation for the Farmers' Institutes, and then the work may be said to be really established. As a rule, the results actually accomplished require only to be brought clearly before the lawmakers to secure the needed funds.

One of the first States to get on to such a financial basis as made the doing of good work possible was Wisconsin, and that State may be taken as a type of one form of Institute management. There the money appropriated by the State is put into the hands of the State University, and is expended under the direction of that institution.

A superintendent is employed, who conducts all the correspondence, appoints dates, employs speakers, and in general exercises supervision. Localities desiring meetings must make their arrangements with him, agreeing to supply a hall for the gatherings and to attend to advertising. A conductor is assigned to each meeting, who takes entire charge, seeing that the programme is presented as advertised and that interest in the proceedings is kept up. Three or four speakers are usually sent to each Institute, local talent being called upon to complete the programme. Full discussion is not only permitted, but encouraged, the questions and their answers often consuming half the time, or even more.

Practical demonstrations are given of improved methods wherever it is possible. For instance, a machine for showing the butter content of milk is used in the presence of the audience, and its value explained and demonstrated by means of samples of milk brought in, upon request, by farmers of the vicinity. The necessity of knowing exactly what is the value of each individual in the dairy herd is thus clearly shown. Charts are exhibited and used as the basis of talks showing the correct types of the different breeds of animals. Under this system a number of Institutes are kept going in various parts of the State during the greater part of the winter season.

In Minnesota a different method prevails. The Institutes are, practically, schools, the superintendent and his corps of assistants going in one body, and remaining at each Institute during the entire session. Under this arrangement a smaller number of

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Institutes can be held with a given amount of assistance, but the work is undoubtedly more thorough.

The work in all the States may be said to be based on one or the other of these two plans, or on some modification of them.

If the sessions described, usually of two or three days' duration, represented all of the Institute work, there might be good ground for the criticism that the service is insufficient, in that in so short a time little of lasting benefit could be accomplished. But the result of a start in Institute work at any point is almost invariably the organization of a local body for holding more or less frequent meetings for regular discussions. Thus there is a constant exchange of ideas going on between the most progressive persons engaged in agricultural and horticultural pursuits.

A single illustration may indicate the good that may come from such meetings as this movement brings about.

In a certain county in one of the Western States there had been long search after some forage plant which should prove thoroughly adapted to the needs of the locality. The country was new, and the grasses which were common in other parts of the State did not seem to succeed there, while the fencing in of the wild pasturage caused the indigenous grasses to disappear rapidly. Some of the most progressive farmers organized an Institute, and knowing of a man who had been successful in the growth of a certain species which was not generally supposed to be adapted to the conditions prevailing there, asked him to tell how he had succeeded in getting it to grow and flourish. The man was a German, writing and speaking English indifferently, but he finally consented to do his best to explain his methods, some of which were unusual, the result of his own experience and painstaking investigation. Much interest was manifested in the subject, and a perfect volley of questions asked and answered, relating to every detail as to the preparation of the soil, sowing of the seed, care of the crop for the first and subsequent years, and other similar practical matters. A year later, at the next annual meeting of the Institute careful inquiry brought out the fact that at least a thousand acres of this particular forage plant had been sown, with almost uniform success, as a result of the information gained from this single discussion.

When the desirability of enlarging the work has become apparent, no force has been so ready to co-operate in doing so as

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the railroads, which have, in most States, supplied transportation for speakers.

There is no occupation in which sharp competition and improved methods have made it so necessary to keep abreast or even ahead of the times as farming. When it is discovered that certain sections are specially adapted to dairying, grazing, the growth of certain grain or fruit crops, or any other specialty, the sooner accurate and improved practical methods are introduced the sooner will wealth flow toward that community. The present condition of the dairy interest in the State of Wisconsin may be pointed out as well illustrating this proposition. No State in the Union to-day has a higher standing as to the product of its dairies. As regards the volume of the industry, it is only necessary to state that a single county has nearly two hundred creameries in successful operation, the important fact, as regards the subject of this paper, being that no small amount of the credit for the condition mentioned is frankly admitted by those most able to judge to be due to the educational work of the Farmers' Institutes.

In disseminating accurate information regarding the growth of the sugar beet, as in many other directions, there is work enough to keep a corps of speakers actively engaged in every State in the Union which is at all adapted to that or any other of the industries that are to take place among the practical and wealth-making efforts of agriculture. And besides the new industries to be introduced, there are always the improved methods with which the successful farmer must constantly familiarize himself.

The largest amount given by any one State for Farmers' Institutes is appropriated by Wisconsin, the sum being fifteen thousand dollars. Other States give liberally, notably Minnesota, New York, and Ohio, while various sums are given by Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, New Jersey, and a few others. More or less organized work has also been done in Missouri, Arizona, California, South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Florida, and, indeed, could the facts all be got together, in almost every State in the Union. The provinces of Ontario and Manitoba have done some of the best work on the continent, both in volume and in quality.

In a number of the States the funds are not appropriated in a

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lump sum, but each county may, by vote, levy a tax for the purpose of raising a sufficient sum to carry on one or more Institutes, a portion of the amount going toward the payment of the local expenses, and the rest going to the central organization, sometimes under the control of the State Board of Agriculture, for the payment of the speakers and other necessary expenses connected with the general work of the State.

So far as known the Farmers' Institutes have been kept, in every State, entirely out of politics. One of the fundamental principles always insisted upon is that no question of religion or politics must be permitted to be discussed on any consideration.

In Europe something is done along the same lines by means of lectures delivered by men sent out by the governments.

It was particularly interesting to the writer to learn, last summer, that in Russia, through some of the Imperial societies, considerable progress has been made in the way of bringing this sort of instruction directly to the people. In St. Petersburg is maintained a great agricultural museum, in which lectures are given during the winter season; and at other times regular courses of lectures, on the various economic subjects relating to the farm, are given on the estates, in order that the working people themselves may be reached and taught.

His Excellency N. A. Hamakoff, Director of the Department of Agriculture in Russia, expressed himself as particularly interested in that line of work, and the interest in the dissemination of such knowledge in other European countries is well known by those who have made any study of the question. Count Leo Tolstoi, in the course of a conversation on the economic questions of the day as related to rural life, showed the deepest interest in this particular method of spreading knowledge among the masses, and said that he thought it an eminently practical way of giving such training as is sorely required to those needing it.

The great interest that is everywhere manifested in the improvement of methods in agricultural work, not only in America, but in Europe, should surely indicate what is necessary to be done if we are to retain our position at the head of agricultural countries. To assist in maintaining that place is the mission of the Farmers' Institute movement.

FREDERIC W. TAYLOR.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES. A REPLY.

BY THE HON. H. D. MONEY.

THE distinguished Mexican Minister, Señor Romero, in his interesting paper in the July number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, leaves a disagreeable impression on the mind of the American citizen, who has always gloried in the belief that his government had cordially sympathized with any people anywhere in their struggle for liberty, and especially with those of this continent. Señor Romero declares that the revolted Spanish colonies established their independence without aid from any outside source, and denies that the United States ever rendered them "material or moral assistance."

One of the complaints against the United States is their tardiness in recognizing the independence of the several colonies. In this age of the steamship, the railroad and the submarine cable, the time required for definite action on the part of the United States may seem to have been unnecessarily protracted, but an investigation into the conditions which prevailed at the time of the revolution will acquit our government of any undue delay. It must be remembered, also, that the warning words of Washington in his farewell address, against foreign complications, were so recent as to have hardly lost their echo, and had, with other causes, induced an exceedingly conservative and cautious foreign policy. There were then no regular mail communications between the United States and the South American colonies, and very little commercial or social intercourse; and that was made hazardous by the swarms of privateers, who, on the South Atlantic and on the Spanish Main, flew the insurgent flags and committed the most atrocious acts of piracy.

The Spanish subjects in America did not originally conceive

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the idea of independence from any particular love of it. For three centuries they had suffered tyranny, proscription, repression, cruelty from their sovereign lord of Spain, with a constancy which was more creditable to their patience than to their enterprise. In fact, with the exception of perhaps Cuba, Costa Rica, and Chili, the proportion of whites to Indians would not average one in twelve, with a considerable number of negroes in La Plata and Venezuela especially, who were unprepared and unfit for self-government.

The Indians, who were the victims of the Spanish—oppressed and oppressors—were, perhaps, indifferent to what they believed would be a mere change of masters, hoping for little benefit under any circumstances. The native whites were as much discriminated against, and almost as much oppressed, as the Indians and blacks. The Spaniards held the offices, civil and military. They were the merchants and capitalists, and controlled almost every business enterprise, this condition of things giving them a monopoly of position, wealth, and advantages which they did not care to submit to the fortunes of a revolution. Personally, they were thriving, and their interests committed them to the policy of *laissez faire*.

It may well be doubted whether the Spanish subjects in America were not forced into revolution more by the chaotic condition of affairs in Spain, which left them virtually to their own resources, than by any desire for independent government, or for the position of an autonomous dependency of Spain. It must be admitted, however, that the torch kindled at the altar of liberty in the British provinces was taking its luminous course, firing the hearts of the people in both the new and the old worlds, and its generous flame gave, no doubt, warmth to the efforts of the patriots of South America.

The status of the respective governments asserting their independence was difficult to be ascertained, and the United States sent special commissioners, carried by warships, to enquire into the true condition of the revolutionists. Before attempting by this means to inform themselves, the United States had very promptly proposed to Great Britain and France to unite in recognition of the independence of the new governments. Another fact that added to the uncertainty was the efforts being made by Peru, Chili, and La Plata to organize a confederate republic.

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New Granada and Venezuela were coalescing into the republic of Colombia, and the Central American States into the republic of Central America, while, during the whole struggle, from Mexico to Patagonia, there was continual talk of alliances, offensive and defensive; so that the United States might well hesitate before taking any action likely to prove offensive to a friendly power. It should be remembered that when, after due deliberation, the United States did recognize the Spanish-American governments in 1822, the act was made the subject by Spain of a grave and emphatic protest to the United States, and of a circular to the members of the Holy Alliance, invoking their assistance. In fact, her displeasure amounted to resentment, and caused her not only to demand explanations, but, also, to refuse to ratify a treaty already negotiated for the cession of Florida and the establishment of our Western boundary. In that negotiation the Spanish minister endeavored to obtain a pledge from the United States that they should not acknowledge the independence of these provinces. The United States would make no such pledge, even to her own profit; and this is surely good evidence of a support, both "material and moral." It is quite probable that the cession was at last made by Spain for fear of the forcible occupation of the territory by the United States, which would have been a blow at her power in America and her prestige in Europe.

It is worthy of mention that the same desire to observe strictly the faith of treaties, and the obligations of friendly neutrality, which influenced the United States in the tardiness of this recognition, operated quite as distinctly in favor of Mexico, in postponing the recognition of the republic of Texas, which had driven every hostile Mexican from its shores, organized its government, and performed its functions and maintained a position becoming a member of the family of nations. For years the Texans impatiently awaited their recognition by the United States; and notwithstanding the ardent sympathy of the people and the passage of repeated resolutions by each House of Congress promising support to the Executive, yet no action was taken, no resolution of Congress ever signed, until the last day of the official term of "Old Hickory." That ardent lover of liberty recognized the independence of Texas by sending a diplomatic representative to her. Still later, when the French and Austrian troops

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had placed Maximilian on the throne of the Empire of Mexico, there was not only a slowness but an absolute failure to recognize his government; and his expulsion from Mexico was due as well to the decided and determined attitude of the United States as to the prowess of Mexican arms.

The United States have always recognized the *de facto* government, and were the first to recognize the imperial governments of Dom Pedro and Iturbide; and, notwithstanding the charge of cold indifference to the success of the Spanish-American revolutionists, they were the first to recognize the independence of these governments. Under the bonds of their treaty with Spain, they could not tolerate the fitting out of military expeditions in their ports; but the revolutionists and the Spaniards were equally permitted to purchase in her cities all kinds of material not contraband of war. Of this both availed themselves to the full extent, and the curious spectacle was afforded of two ships exactly alike, built at the same time, in the same American shipyard—one for the Spanish king, and one for his insurgent subjects. As far as the law of nations would permit, we certainly gave "material" support to the cause of freedom in South America.

We are also charged with withholding "moral" support. The answers to this are the repeated resolutions passed in Congress to aid the Executive in any constitutional effort he might make for the benefit of the colonists; and the interest and sympathy expressed through the press and other channels of publicity. In fact, it is inconceivable, not only from what we can learn from the history of those times, but from our knowledge of the American character and temper, that we should have occupied a coldly sympathetic attitude toward the struggling patriots of South America, and although President Monroe gave a most scrupulous regard to the observance of our treaty with Spain, and the maintenance of a friendly neutrality, yet he privately and officially repeatedly expressed, as did his cabinet and our most distinguished statesmen, his warm concern in the affairs of the revolutionists. In his message to Congress in 1822, President Monroe said that the movement in the Spanish provinces "attracted attention and excited the sympathy of our fellow-citizens from its commencement;" also that "to other claims a just sensibility has always been felt and frankly acknowledged, but they, in themselves, could never become an adequate cause of action."

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Mr. Monroe was still further embarrassed by the civil wars and dissensions that prevailed among the revolutionists themselves, and time was absolutely necessary, in some instances, to ascertain what party was entitled to recognition as the government.

It may be noted that when general recognition was accorded in 1822, but a short time had elapsed from the triumph of General San Martin at Lima, in September, 1821, which was, by the revolutionists themselves, considered the finishing stroke to Spanish authority, and as such celebrated with great rejoicing from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is somewhat curious that a distinguished representative of Mexico should consider the declaration of the Monroe doctrine, in 1823, as of no "material" advantage to the new republics, and much more so that it was of no value as giving "moral" support. It certainly had much to do with arresting the movement designed by the Congresses of the Holy Alliance at Troppau, Laybach, Verona, and elsewhere, to reduce the revolting provinces anew to subjection to Ferdinand. Before Mr. Monroe had declared his famous "doctrine," the British Minister, George Canning, had informed the French Minister at London with great emphasis, that if the design of the Holy Alliance was persisted in, Great Britain would acknowledge the independence of the Spanish provinces. Great Britain decided to weaken Spain, so as to enjoy trade with her late colonies. This had been denied to her by the humane and gentle policy of Spain toward her American subjects, which inflicted death upon them as the penalty for the crime of trading with any other people than the Spaniards.

The motive which influenced the Executive of the United States was more disinterested, although not entirely unselfish. The Holy Alliance had most clearly avowed its belief that no reform in government could come through a revolt of subjects against the authority of kings, who ruled by divine right, and they had made equally clear their purpose to suppress any movement in derogation of that right. They had promptly acted upon that declaration by marching a hundred thousand of their troops into Spain and prostrating a constitutional Cortes at the feet of Ferdinand, and by suppressing the liberal movement in the Piedmont. They then proposed to continue thair operations on the Western Hemisphere for the restoration of the Spanish authority. The United States had not at that time attained a

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position among nations that so challenged the respect of Europe as to cause a quarrel with her to be considered a momentous matter, and they had a risk to run so grave that the Spanish republicans of America should appreciate it.

Señor Romero cites the historical fact that Mr. Clay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, requested the ministers of Mexico and Colombia to suspend an expedition which their governments were jointly fitting out for the invasion of Cuba with a view to wresting that island from the Spanish Crown. The reasons given by Mr. Clay are not accepted as sincere by the Mexican Minister, who suggests that Mr. Clay feared that the conquest of the island by Colombia and Mexico would lead to the abolition of slavery thereon. This belief is based upon the hypothesis that the administration was being conducted in the interest of slavery in the United States. This administration had for its President John Quincy Adams, a New Englander of very great ability and accomplishments, hostile to the institution of slavery, and the first representative to introduce into Congress an abolition petition. Our citizens have been accustomed to consider Henry Clay as the highest type of frank and fearless American manhood; and will not so lightly discredit his sincerity—even in an affair of diplomacy.

The reason mentioned as given by Henry Clay was not the only one which he avowed; but in itself it constituted a sufficient motive for discouraging the proposed expedition. It was not believed that Colombia or Mexico, separately or jointly, without navies and without resources, would be able to hold the island against the adverse contention of either France or Great Britain. About this time, and a little after, it was believed that France was preparing a great fleet and army of invasion to capture Cuba; and at one time there was a general report that possession of the island had been accomplished by her. Great Britain had been absorbing the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, and was exceedingly anxious to add to the list the "gem of the Antilles"; so that the apprehensions of Mr. Clay were not only entirely reasonable, but warranted by the history of the times.

Mr. Clay doubted the capacity of the Cubans, on account of their small numbers, and the racial diversity of the population, to maintain their independence. However much the question of

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slavery entered into our domestic and foreign policy, it is not easy to understand how the possession of Cuba by any power likely to get it would threaten the institution in America, or even in Cuba. Great Britain, lashed by the eloquence of Wilberforce, paid for and manumitted her slaves in 1838. France followed, a slow second, in 1848, and Mexico did not emancipate her own, of which she had very few, until several years after the events here considered.

There is no evidence that the inhabitants of Cuba had invited the invasion of Colombia and Mexico, nor that they desired to throw off the Spanish yoke. There was no outbreak there contemporaneous with the uprising in the other colonies in the hour of Spain's calamity and confusion at home. In fact, the Spanish crown, in grateful acknowledgment of the loyalty of the Cubans in these years of general rebellion, designated her "the ever-faithful isle." The invasion was projected, as far as we can learn, not through sympathy with the Cubans, but from a natural and proper desire of Colombia and Mexico to deprive their enemy of a convenient base of operations against them, present and future.

The other reason above-mentioned was a sincere desire on the part of the United States to terminate the long-protracted war between Spain and her colonies, which had not only exhausted all the combatants of their resources, but had subjected the commerce of the United States to the numerous pirates who conveniently sheltered themselves under the ensign of one or other of the republics. Mr. Clay was earnestly engaged in urging Russia to bring about a peace, and there seems to be no doubt that the action of Mr. Clay, regarded by Señor Romero as unfriendly, was really of the most vital service to Mexico and the other republics, as it made Spain feel the necessity of terminating the war with the colonies already gone from her, in order to secure Cuba and Puerto Rico that remained to her. It was Mr. Clay's business also to protect the material interests of his own country. Our trade with Havana was greater than with all the other Spanish possessions, and in view of its injury or destruction by an invasion Mr. Clay frankly declared to the ministers of Colombia and Mexico that the interests of the United States would not permit them to allow a desolating war to be carried on in Cuba.

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If anyone derived from Señor Romero's paper the impression that the freedom of Cuba from Spanish oppression was thwarted by the interposition of the United States in this affair he may take comfort from the true reasons rendered above; and if the principles laid down by Mr. Clay as sufficient justification for his declaration of our policy at that time were applied by the administration of to-day there would be a prompt interference to stop a war not only desolating but destructive and exterminating. Great as was our business with Havana then, it was a bagatelle to the amount of our commerce with her at the beginning of the present Cuban struggle.

Shortly after the date of Mr. Clay's communication, just considered, the new minister from the republic of Central America declared the United States the "most generous friend" of the Spanish revolutionists.

H. D. MONEY.

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THE DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES IN REGARD TO CENTRAL AMERICAN CANALS.

BY JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

"THERE is but one insuperable difficulty known to engineering, and that is a lack of money." Yet the obstacle is so great that the inter-oceanic canal has never been built through Central America; and so, for four hundred years, this narrow neck of land has remained a barrier in the sailing route suggested by Columbus. He had hoped to find a direct passage to the East Indies; but, a continent having been accidentally discovered, his original object became a matter of less importance. It was by no means forgotten, however. For years efforts were made to find a way into the Pacific. Captain John Smith sailed up the Chicahominy in search of it. Columbus himself looked for it in Central America, where also Cortés, at a later period, made a very thorough investigation. There was no strait, although an old Indian tradition related that the Atlantic and Pacific had once mingled their waters in a natural channel through the Isthmus of Panama. It did not seem an impossible task to restore this waterway, but man (particularly the *genus* engineer) proposes, and often his proposals come to naught.

About 1551 Gomara proposed the piercing of the isthmus. "It is true," he said to Philip II., "that mountains obstruct these passages; but if there are mountains there are also hands." A canal made under the auspices of His Most Catholic Majesty would have been only a private channel for Spanish commerce. In those days, before the acceptance of the doctrine of *Mare Liberum*, when nearly every part of the sea was under the jurisdiction of some country, there was no thought of constructing a canal for the benefit of mankind in general, or for the bene-

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fit of anybody but the builders. Philip did not take much interest in the matter and seemed to fear that the canal, if constructed, might possibly be used by the ships of other nations to the detriment of his own commerce.

This exclusive policy, as well as the doctrine of *Mare Clausum*, has been laid aside by statesmen in modern times. A study of the diplomacy of the United States will show that the Department of State has usually looked upon the matter in a very enlightened and liberal way; although, after the Civil War, a desire for exclusive control began to manifest itself. The exclusive policy reached its culmination under that Secretary of State, who was also, to a certain extent, the advocate of the obsolete doctrine of *Mare Clausum*.

In 1814, after Humboldt's explorations had given new impetus to the matter of canal construction, the Spanish Cortes commanded the Viceroy of New Spain to pierce the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, but internal wars prevented the execution of the design. In 1825 the new republic of Central America invited the participation of the United States in a plan for cutting a canal. Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, declared that the policy of the United States would not be one of exclusive control.

"If the work should ever be executed," he said, "the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon payment of just compensation or reasonable tolls."*

The concession was granted to Mr. Palmer, of New York, but the canal was never built.

In 1829 General Verveer went to Nicaragua to obtain the concession for his royal master, the King of the Netherlands. It was granted. The canal was to be open on equal terms to all nations at peace with Central America; armed ships of belligerents were to be excluded, and the maritime powers were to be invited to recognize the neutrality of the canal.† But just at this time disturbances arose which fully occupied William's royal mind, and again the plan was dropped.

The subject of an interoceanic canal having been brought before the United States Senate in 1835, that body passed a resolution requesting the President "to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the governments of other nations, and

* See Mr. Clay's letter to Commissioners of United States to Panama Congress.
† See Ex. Doc., 2d Sess., 47th Congress, Vol. 23, p. 20.

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particularly with the governments of Central America and New Granada," for the purpose of securing the "free and equal right of navigation of such canal to all nations."*

This international character of the canal was also recognized by Monsieur Guizot† about the time when Don Francisco Castellon visited Louis Philippe in the hope of obtaining that thrifty monarch's assistance in constructing a waterway. But the King and his money were not easily parted, and the government of Nicaragua had to lay the canal plans at the feet of the Prince Prisoner at Ham. The canal was to be called "*Le Canal Napoléone de Nicaragua*," but the Prince, having escaped from his prison, aimed at a position more exalted than the presidency of a canal company, and the scheme obtained from him nothing more than fair words such as the first Napoleon had given to the canal at Suez.

The acquisition of California and the discovery of gold in that region made it extremely important to the United States that there should be a short sailing route between the Pacific ports and those on the Atlantic. With this idea in mind, and anticipating the construction of a canal,‡ Mr. Hise, the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States in Central America, negotiated a treaty§ with Nicaragua granting to the United States special privileges of transit in return for a guarantee of protection. This treaty had been negotiated without instructions; it was not in accordance with the views of the administration; and it was never ratified. Mr. Clayton, Secretary of State, hastened to inform Lord Palmerston that the United States "had no views of exclusive advantage to themselves in this matter,"‖ and that it was their wish to see "the canal dedicated to the common use of all nations on . . . a footing of perfect equality for all."¶

Even had the United States wished to construct a canal solely for their own benefit, it would hardly have been possible for them to do so in the state of affairs then existing. When the United States added California to their territory, Great Britain possessed herself of Greytown, which would probably be one of the termini of any canal through Nicaragua.

* See Ex. Doc., 2d Sess., 47th Congress, Vol. 23, p. 21.
† Speech in the Chamber of Deputies, June 10, 1843.
‡ A contract between Nicaragua and the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Co. was signed at Leon, August 27, 1849.
§ Hise-Selva Convention, June 21, 1849.
‖ Mr. Crampton to Lord Palmerston, September 15, 1849.
¶ See letter of Mr. Rives to Mr. Clayton, September 25, 1849.

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While, therefore, Nicaragua was willing to grant the United States special privileges in regard to one end of the route, the other end was controlled by Great Britain, who was thus placed in a position as commanding as that of the United States. This in itself would have been a sufficient reason for inviting her to join in the canal scheme, had not an equally good reason already existed in the fact that it was the declared policy of the United States to establish the canal for the use of all nations, and not under the exclusive control of any power.

On the 19th of April, 1850, Mr. Clayton and Sir Henry Bulwer signed a treaty, usually known as the "Clayton-Bulwer Treaty," by which both Great Britain and the United States guaranteed the neutrality of the proposed canal, and agreed that neither of them would "occupy or fortify or colonize or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America."* The canal was to be open on equal terms to both nations. Furthermore, the high contracting parties promised to invite other friendly powers to join in protecting the canal and in receiving the advantages of the same. The first part of the treaty refers especially to the canal then contemplated, but the eighth article is more general in character. It gives unequivocal expression to the views of the United States, that the benefits of a canal "should not be appropriated to any one nation," and that, in order to secure this result, there should be a joint guarantee of neutrality. This article is in the following terms:

"The Governments of the United States and Great Britain having not only desired, in entering into this convention, to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection, by treaty stipulations, to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the inter-oceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama. In granting, however, their joint protection to any such canals or railways as are by this article specified, it is always understood by the United States and Great Britain that the parties constructing or owning the same shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon than the aforesaid governments shall approve of as just and equitable; and that the same canals or railways, being open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms, shall be open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other state which is willing to grant

*Article I., Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

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thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain engage to afford."

Before the exchange of ratifications, Sir Henry Bulwer bethought him that there might be some ambiguity in the treaty. Prosper Mérimée said of Sir Henry, "He is very mad, very free and easy, and very witty when he is not dying, a thing which happens to him about four days in the week." On this occasion he did not wish to be too free and easy, so he wrote to Mr. Clayton, saying: "Her Majesty does not understand the engagements of that convention to apply to Her Majesty's settlements at Honduras, or to its dependencies."* The Secretary of State replied that this was in accordance with his own understanding of the treaty.†

At this time Great Britain had a "settlement" at Honduras, a protectorate over the Indians of the Mosquito Coast, and she had a "settlement" on Ruatan, one of the Bay Islands.

A dispute soon arose as to the interpretation of the treaty. The United States claimed that it was retrospective and that, therefore, Great Britain should give up the Bay Islands and withdraw her protection from the Mosquito Indians. Great Britain, on the other hand, considered that the treaty forbade future acquisitions only. She, moreover, held that the Bay Islands were not part of Central America, and that the protectorate (as Mr. Clayton himself said) "was not disavowed by the treaty, but disarmed by it."‡ For years the matter was the subject of contention between the two governments. At one time, to use the words with which Mr. Alderman Cotton graphically described a similar case to a bewildered House of Commons, "the danger was so imminent that it only required a spark to let loose the dogs of war." Lord Clarendon and Mr. Dallas negotiated a new treaty for the settlement of the difficulties, but it was not ratified. Great Britain suggested arbitration, which the United States declined on the ground that the dispute was one about the meaning of the English language, and could, therefore, be settled best by the two nations which speak that language.§

The abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was considered. Great Britain intimated that she would assent to such a course,

* Declaration made by Sir Henry Bulwer at the Department of State, June 29, 1850.
† Memorandum filed by Mr. Clayton at Department of State, July 5, 1850.
‡ See Sir H. Bulwer's statement in *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1856.
§ Lord Napier to Lord Clarendon, October, 1857.

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but would, in that case, insist that the matter should revert to the *status quo ante*:* she should be allowed to retain her possessions in, or near, Central America, and each nation should be at liberty to acquire new territory. Lord Malmesbury playfully said that England would not object to the United States colonizing in Central America, and that he had no doubt such a course would have a civilizing influence upon the inhabitants of those countries.† This proposition was not agreeable to the United States, who were unwilling to abandon their bird in the hand, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, without first binding England so as to prevent her acquiring even more extended possessions in, or near, Central America.‡

At last, Sir William Gore Ouseley, Her Majesty's plenipotentiary, went to Central America, and, after some difficulty in finding the capitals of those governments, entered upon negotiations which, with the assistance of Mr. Wyke, resulted in the modification of the British possessions in accordance with the American interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Great Britain gave up the Bay Islands, formally renounced her protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, and arranged with Guatemala for the settlement of the boundaries of British Honduras.§ The United States accepted these concessions, and President Buchanan informed Congress that "the discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between the two governments have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this government."‖

Thus after ten years the disputes were adjusted and both parties to the treaty were satisfied. The controversy had been one concerning British dominion in, or near, Central America, and there had been no denial of the binding force of the eighth article, whereby the two powers, desiring "to establish a general principle," had agreed to extend their joint protection to any other canal that might be built, and had also provided that the canal should be "open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other state which is willing to grant thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain engage to afford."

* Lord Malmesbury to Lord Napier, April 8, 1858.
† *Ibid.*
‡ Mr. Cass to Lord Napier, November 8, 1858.
§ Treaty between Great Britain and Honduras, November 28, 1859; treaty between Great Britain and Nicaragua, January 28, 1860; treaty between Great Britain and Guatemala, April 30, 1859.
‖ President Buchanan's Message to Congress, December 3, 1860.

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On many occasions since the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, as well as before that time, the government of the United States has given expression to the opinion that the inter-oceanic transit routes should be neutral, and that foreign powers should join in guaranteeing such neutrality. This sentiment has not only been expressed in diplomatic correspondence, but has also been embodied in public treaties. The Clay-Colindres Treaty* (1864), and the Dickinson-Ayon Treaty† (1867), both contain stipulations for inviting other nations to extend their protection to the canal. Similar provisions were made in the three unratified treaties, known as the Cass-Yrisarri Treaty‡ (1857); the United States and Colombia Treaty§ (1869), and the Fish-Cardenas Convention‖ (1877).

It will now be necessary to examine the conduct of the United States in regard to the Panama route.

In 1846 a movement was made towards the improvement of Isthmian transit by means of a railway from Panama to Colon. The work was completed in 1855, and, by treaty, signed in 1846, the United States guaranteed "positively and efficaciously to New Granada . . . the perfect neutrality of the beforementioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists."¶ In return for the protection thus conceded, the United States received the right of transit, but no exclusive privileges which might not be granted to other powers. In 1849 Great Britain was invited to join in that guarantee.**

In 1856, after very serious riots at Panama, Mr. Marcy proposed a new treaty with New Granada in order that the United States might acquire greater facilities for protecting the railway. The district containing the road was to be made a sort of satrapy under the rule of United States Consuls.†† At the same time the Secretary of State disclaimed any desire for exclusive advantage, and also announced the intention of the United States to invite

*Treaty of July 4, 1864, between the United States and Honduras, Article XIV.
†Treaty of June 21, 1867, between the United States and Nicaragua, Article XV.
‡Treaty of November 16, 1857, between the United States and Nicaragua, Article XV.
§Between United States and Colombia, Article XVIII.
‖Between United States and Nicaragua, Articles I. and XV.
¶Article XXXV.
**Mr. Lawrence to Lord Palmerston, November 8, 1849.
††*Projet* enclosed in letter of instructions from Mr. Marcy to Messrs. Morse and Bowlin, December 3, 1856.

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other nations to become parties "to a guarantee for the neutrality of that part of the Isthmus."*

In 1862, when the plenipotentiary of the New Granadian Confederation invoked the aid of the United States against a revolutionary movement, which, it was claimed, endangered the freedom of transit, the United States consulted both Great Britain and France as to the proper course to pursue. "This government," wrote Mr. Seward, "has no interest in the matter different from that of other maritime powers."†

He also instructed Mr. Adams and Mr. Dayton to inquire "whether these governments [*i. e.*, Great Britain and France] will unite with the United States in guaranteeing the safety of the transit and the authority of the New Granadian Confederation, or either of these objects." ‡

While, for forty years, the government of the United States adhered to its declared policy of seeking no exclusive advantage, it was not blind to the benefits (such as they were) that might be derived from a contrary course. Several months before the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was signed, Mr. Clayton said to the British Minister that there was no doubt the government of the United States might obtain "great applause in certain quarters and a certaint sort of popularity by an attempt to effect this work upon a principle of exclusive advantage;" but he added that such applause would "be dearly bought by the jealousies and misunderstandings between nations which would be the inevitable result."§

After the civil war, when the United States began to realize their military strength, there was a change of feeling among the officers of state.

Even Mr. Seward, who in 1862 had declared that the United States had "no interest in the matter different from that of other maritime powers," tried in 1868 to negotiate a treaty with Colombia by which the flag of any nation at war with the United States should be excluded from the canal.‖ Colombia rejected this article; the matter was afterwards arranged on a basis of equality for all nations, and a clause was added in favor of "procuring the friendship and guarantee of other na-

* Mr. Marcy to Messrs. Morse and Bowlin, December 3, 1856.
† Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams. July 11, 1862.
‡ *Ibid.*, also Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton on same date.
§ Mr. Crampton to Lord Palmerston, October 1, 1849.
‖ Mr. Seward to Mr. Sullivan, September 27, 1868.

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tions."* In this form it was presented to Congress, but the treaty was never ratified.

As early as 1866 General Grant had expressed his desire that no European power should have control of the canal. † During his administration Mr. Stephen A. Hurlbut attempted to negotiate a new treaty with Colombia, in which there was provision for closing the canal against enemies of the United States. The clause was different from that already rejected by Colombia in 1868, but it was "the old dog in a new doublet." The Colombian Congress again rejected it. Mr. Hurlbut, whom Mr. Lowten would have described as "a capital man of business," suggested that a little bribery might overcome the objection. ‡ He seems also to have indulged in *double entendre* to an unwarrantable extent. He obtained permission, by the convention, to have the docks and yards guarded by police; "but I apprehend," he wrote to the Secretary of State, with a mental wink, "marines will make a capital 'police.'" § The twenty-fifth article, by which the high contracting parties agreed to invite foreign nations to give "a guarantee in favor of the stipulations of immunity and neutrality means nothing," said Mr. Hurlbut; it was inserted for "home consumption, to be used in Congress against those who are European in tendency and hostile to the United States." ‖

In spite of Mr. Hurlbut's *finesse*, he lost the game. There was a diplomatist more subtle than he. Mr. Bunch, Her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*, placed the British flag at half-mast on Good Friday, and, carrying a candle, walked in procession in the Cathedral. The Colombian Congress rejected the treaty and refused to grant the exclusive privileges—a result which, Mr. Hurlbut said, was due no doubt to "the strange means" Mr. Bunch had taken "to deepen the hold he has on this people." ¶

The desire for exclusive control has manifested itself at sundry times and in divers manners, as, for example, in the message of President Hayes, March 8, 1880, but that policy reached its most aggressive form under Mr. Blaine. In the early part of 1881 it was said that the European powers, at the invitation of

* Article XVIII. of Convention, signed January 14, 1869.
† Letter of General Grant to Rear Admiral Davis, U. S. N., July 7, 1866. See Ex. Doc., 2d Sess., 47 Congress, Vol. 23, p. 30.
‡ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, June 6, 1870.
§ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, January 5, 1870.
‖ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, February 1, 1870.
¶ Mr. Hurlbut to Mr. Fish, April 17, 1870.

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Colombia, "might possibly be considering the subject of jointly guaranteeing the neutrality" of the projected canal at Panama.* On June 24, 1881, Mr. Blaine sent despatches to all the envoys of the United States in Europe, informing them of his objection to such an arrangement, and desiring them to bring the matter to the attention of the several governments to which they were accredited. The Secretary of State said he thought it most desirable that there should be some guarantee of neutrality; the United States had already given such a guarantee by the treaty of 1846, and it was, therefore, unnecessary that any other power should supplement that guarantee.† Mr. Blaine denied that he sought any commercial advantage, but insisted that, in time of war, the canal should not be used by the armed vessels of his country's adversaries. He then glowingly described the Western States and told how many tons of wheat were raised per inhabitant therein. All this was intended to show that the waterway leading to this Eldorado should be under control of the United States, and that, in fact, the canal, albeit some hundreds of miles distant in Colombia, formed "substantially part of our coast line."‡ Mr. Blaine concluded his circular despatch by cautiously suggesting to the envoys that they should "not represent this position as the development of a new policy."§

In reply, Lord Granville called Mr. Blaine's attention to the eighth article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, by which the two governments had agreed to extend their joint protection to any canal that might be built across the Isthmus; "and," said he, "Her Majesty's Government rely with confidence upon the observance of all the engagements of that treaty."‖

In subsequent despatches, Mr. Blaine, and after him Mr. Frelinghuysen, contended that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was practically a thing of the past, and should no longer be considered as forbidding the United States to acquire control of the canal.¶ Mr. Blaine suggested, however, that it would be well to retain those portions of it which bound England to refrain from obtaining possessions in Central America.**

* Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, June 24, 1881.
† Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, June 24, 1881.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ibid.*
‖ Lord Granville to Mr. Hoppin, November 10, 1881.
¶ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
** *Ibid.*

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The reasons suggested for considering the treaty void and for giving the control of the canal to the United States were chiefly the following :

(1.) The treaty had never been satisfactory to the United States.*

(2.) The treaty had been made upon the implied condition that English capital should be invested. That condition had not been fulfilled.†

(3.) The treaty had been made with a view to the construction of a certain canal. That canal had not been built.‡

(4.) The eighth article of the treaty had not, up to that time, been acted upon, and should be "regarded as obsolete." §

(5.) Great Britain had violated the treaty by making Honduras a "colony." ‖

(6.) The United States, because of their isolated position, would probably not become involved in war so readily as the nations of Europe; therefore the United States would be the best guardians of the canal. ¶

(7.) The treaty was contrary to the "Monroe doctrine." **

(8.) The treaty had been "made more than thirty years ago, under exceptional and extraordinary conditions, which have long since ceased to exist."†† "The conditions of 1882 are not those of 1852." ‡‡ *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.* The situation of the canal and the growth of the United States on the Pacific made it necessary that that government should have political control of the canal for the proper protection of its coasts. §§

Many of these contentions may be easily controverted.

(1.) The statement that the treaty had never been satisfactory to the United States is, apparently, not in accordance with the facts. Since 1860 the treaty seems to have been accepted as a final settlement, "entirely satisfactory" ‖‖ to the United States. Moreover, the dissatisfaction prior to that time had been caused by British occupation in, or near, Central America, while the

* Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 29, 1881.
† Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
‡ Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 5, 1883.
§ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
‖ Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 8, 1882.
¶ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
** Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 8, 1882.
†† Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, November 19, 1881.
‡‡ Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Lowell, May 8, 1882.
§§ Mr. Blaine to Mr. Lowell, June 24, 1881.
‖‖ President Buchanan's Message, December 3, 1860.

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principle of joint protection had never been disputed, but, on the contrary, had been repeatedly affirmed.

(2.) The treaty was not made in order to secure British capital. It is not so nominated in the bond, and Daniel Webster declared that the money could "easily be obtained in this country."*

(3.) The fact that the canal has not been built does not make the treaty invalid, seeing that by the eighth article Her Britannic Majesty and the United States "having *not only* desired to accomplish a particular object, but *also to establish a general principle,*" had agreed to extend their joint protection to any inter-oceanic canal or railway that might be constructed in Central America.

(4.) There was no limit of time within which Great Britain was required to give a guarantee of protection. The canal has never been built and, therefore, has never needed protection. The Panama Railway is of much less international importance; and, although England has never guaranteed the neutrality of that road, Lord John Russell, upon the invitation of Mr. Seward, in 1862, offered informal protection to it, saying that, in the event of "an actual derangement of the communication, the British government would readily co-operate with the United States in the measures that might be thought necessary." †

(5.) Mr. Frelinghuysen founded an ingenious argument upon the fact that British Honduras had been made a "colony." Lord Granville replied:

> "Inasmuch, then, as British Honduras was expressly excluded altogether from the arrangement which was entered into between the two governments in 1850, . . . Her Majesty's Government cannot see with what justice it can be said that the change of title of that possession of Her Majesty from that of a 'settlement' to a 'colony' can be appealed to as a violation of the arrangement of 1850." ‡

(6.) If the guarantee of the United States alone were enough it is improbable that the guarantee of the United States together with that of other nations would be less efficient.

(7.) The "Monroe doctrine" is not a principle of international law. It is a guiding rule of conduct for the United States, laid down by Mr. Monroe, and variously interpreted by his suc-

* Mr. Webster to Mr. Lawrence, May 14, 1852.
† Mr. Adams to Mr. Seward, August 1, 1862.
‡ Lord Granville to Mr. West, August 17, 1883

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cessors. Moreover, the Executive and Senate in 1850, as well as the statesmen in authority for years before as well as after that period, did not consider the principle of joint protection to be contrary to the "Monroe doctrine"; nor is it so in fact.

(8.) Mr. Blaine's principal argument was deduced from "changed conditions" and from the extent and wealth of the Western coast. The growth of the United States on the Pacific was clearly foreseen in 1850, and was one of the causes which induced the United States to take a deep interest in the canal, and to enter into the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty for its protection. That these expectations had been more than realized was not a sufficient reason for refusing to adhere to the terms of the treaty. The conditions had not really changed, but they had developed.

Great Britain, as well as the United States, has a large extent of territory on the Pacific, and the two nations, "in consequence of their possessions on the coast of the Pacific, and other obvious causes," as Daniel Webster said, "have a similar interest in its (*i. e.*, the canal's) success." *

It does not seem evident that the canal is "a part of our coast line"—a phrase which must have a particularly pleasant sound to the nations lying immediately south of the present boundary of the United States—nor is it indisputable that nature and the conformation of the continent have declared the United States the rightful masters of the canal, although Mr. Blaine would make it appear that this is "so evidently true by way of fact, as no man that is not desperately impudent can deny it." †

In the absence of any evidence other nations will refuse to believe that all inter-oceanic canals are the property of the United States by the law of nature. Great Britain prefers to rely on the documentary evidence afforded by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Several of the European powers answered Mr. Blaine's circular in an evasive manner, as who should say "we will see thee again in this matter" ‡; while Colombia declared her perfect liberty to choose her own protectors.§

This departure from the traditions of the Department of State produced no practical results except, perhaps, some applause

*Mr. Webster to Mr. Lawrence, May 14, 1852.

† The quotation is from "The Soveraigntie of the Seas, written in the yeare 1633, by that learned knight Sr John Boroughs, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London."

‡ See "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881."

§ Report of Dr. Quijano Wallis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Colombian Congress, 1883.

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from the admirers of an aggressive policy, and much humiliation to the country because of the attempt to evade treaty obligations on frivolous grounds.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bayard, upon their advent, found that a treaty granting exclusive privileges had been negotiated with Nicaragua with a view to the construction of a canal through that country. The treaty was promptly withdrawn from the consideration of the Senate for reasons expressed by Mr. Cleveland in his first message :*

"I am unable to recommend propositions involving paramount privileges of ownership or right outside of our own territory, when coupled with absolute and unlimited engagements to defend the territorial integrity of the state where such interests lie. . . . Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two greatest maritime areas of the world must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power, nor become a point of invitation for hostilities or a prize for warlike ambition. An engagement combining the construction, ownership, and operation of such work by this government, with an offensive and defensive alliance for its protection with the foreign state, whose responsibilities and rights we should share, is, in my judgment, inconsistent with such dedication to universal and neutral use, and would, moreover, entail measures for its realization beyond the scope of our national polity or present means."

After stating that the United States have "by their positive declarations and through the formal obligation of treaties," consecrated the canal to the "common use of mankind," Mr. Cleveland announced that his administration would bear in mind the declaration of Mr. Cass, who said :

"What the United States want in Central America, next to the happiness of its people, is the security and neutrality of the inter-oceanic routes which lead through it."

"These suggestions," Mr. Cleveland added, "may serve to emphasize what I have already said on the score of the necessity of a neutralization of any inter-oceanic transit; and this can only be accomplished by making the use of the route open to all nations and subject to the ambitions and warlike necessities of none."

In 1888 and in 1894 the United States again confirmed their adherence to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty (and consequently to the policy indicated in it) by insisting that Great Britain should refrain from any intervention in behalf of the Mosquito Indians, and by using the Clayton-Bulwer treaty as a spell wherewith to lay this ghost of England's protectorate.†

* Message to Congress, December 8, 1885.

† See letters of Mr. Bayard to Mr. Phelps, November 23, 1888; Marquess of Salisbury to Mr. Edwards, March 7, 1889; Mr. Bayard to Mr. Gresham, May 28, 1894.

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Efforts have been recently made in Congress to depart from the traditional policy, and to revive the Nicaragua Canal scheme under the auspices of the United States, but these efforts have not yet been successful.

The old policy of seeking no exclusive advantage and of wishing to place the canal under the protection of all nations, for the benefit of all nations, is in accordance with treaty obligations, justice, and practical wisdom. In return for the expense in armament, which would be necessary to maintain control of the canal, the United States, in guaranteeing, alone, the free passage of the Isthmus, would, as Mr. de Bustamante * observes, "only succeed in wilfully drawing upon themselves an inexhaustible source of international conflicts." The canal can be neutralized, in the proper sense of the word, only by conventional agreement between the great maritime Powers. Similar arrangements in regard to Belgium, Switzerland, and other places have been found satisfactory. The neutralization of Colombia or Nicaragua would remove them from the danger of attack by any foreign power, while leaving their domestic affairs free from the control of external influence. This is a state of things which the "Monroe doctrine" was designed to bring about; and an international agreement to neutralize the country through which the canal may pass would be equivalent to an international agreement to observe the "Monroe doctrine" in regard to that country.

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

* In article in *Revue de Droit International*, tome XXVII., Nos. 2 and 3. This article contains an interesting discussion of the means of neutralizing the canal.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND HAWAII.

THE Constitution of the United States, in the first section of Article XIV., declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States;" and in the first section of Article XV. that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Up to this time we have found in our naturalization laws and treaties a shield for the American ballot box against Asiatics.

Neither treaties nor naturalization laws will serve for this object if we annex Hawaii and make it a part of the territory of the United States. All persons born in Hawaii after annexation would be born on American soil, and their right to vote—all males possessing the same qualifications as other males, black and white, born in the United States—could not be abridged by the United States or by any State.

Either we should have to deport after annexation the entire Asiatic population of Hawaii born in the islands, or, on reaching voter's age, the legally qualified would have to be admitted to the ballot on equal terms with the white Europeans and Americans in the islands.

Neither the Executive of the United States, nor Congress, nor the Executive and Legislature combined can set aside the Constitution.

After annexation migration of American citizens of Hawaii, of every race and color, will have to be free and unrestricted to every State and territory of the United States. After annexation legal voters of Hawaii, of *every race and color*, will be constitutional voters in every State and Territory of the United States.

Thus the detested and dangerous Asiatic must reach the American ballot box if Hawaiian annexation is to become an accomplished fact.

It is true that native-born Hawaiian American citizens, with voters' rights, cannot arrive thus in practical American politics for nearly another generation, if the projected and pending treaty becomes law. But the issue must be faced now. Is the nation prepared to accept it and its full consequences? It involves the writing of an absolutely novel chapter in national and international history, more momentous than the American Civil War and its political, economic, industrial, and social results.

In a spirit, therefore, of wisdom, of patriotism, and of statesmanship, has President McKinley deferred definite consideration of the proposal of Hawaiian annexation. Let the administration wait for the mandate of the nation. Give the nation time to reflect!

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According to the latest statistical returns the population of Hawaii contains:

Chinese	15,301
Japanese	12,360
Natives, kin with the Maories	34,436

There is no restriction on Japanese immigration. The slight restriction on Chinese immigration has proven effectual only in a limited degree.

The voting category, to be added to ours, therefore, as a consequence of Hawaiian annexation, will comprise Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, Maories and numerous other hybrid human varieties. They may be voters in every part of the United States, as well as in Hawaii, if Hawaii becomes American soil. Is President McKinley, is the Republican party, ready for this responsibility?

LONGFIELD GORMAN.

A NEW BUSINESS ALLIANCE.

DOES the East realize how rapidly it is losing its hold on the business interests of the prairies? Does it know that the West and the Southwest are joining hands, not politically but commercially, in the formation of new trade relations that mean the hardest blow to the traffic of the Atlantic slope that it has ever seen? It is so.

A third of a century ago Texas was further from Kansas and Nebraska in a business sense than it was from Europe. One day an energetic cattleman laid out a trail across the 200 miles of Indian lands separating the commonwealths, and for a time they were almost one. Great herds were driven up from the ranches of the Southwest to the northern shipping and feeding stations. Then the trade fell off, and both sections looked to the East again. Events are bringing about another business alliance between them, but this time the tide of traffic is southward.

Corn sold during the winter in Northern Texas for 36 to 45 cents; in Kansas, 450 miles away, it was worth 8 to 12 cents, and the farmers were complaining because with an abundant crop they could not get cash enough to pay their taxes. This sort of a condition has set the people to thinking, and the result is a demand for closer trade relations between the North and South and the promise of a business revolution. The entire Western Mississippi valley is looking to the Gulf of Mexico as an outlet for the vast granary of the plains. The legislatures of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas have appointed commissions to consult on the feasibility of an interstate railroad to be built and operated by the three governments, and there is an ever-increasing stream of business flowing Gulfward. Perhaps the never-ceasing abuse of the "plutocratic East," the "Wall Street sharks," and the "millionaire robbers," with which the Populist orators have regaled their audiences through six campaigns in every schoolhouse, has had some influence in awakening public sentiment, but the hope of better prices for crops has been the more potent factor. The farmers have seen the prices of their products decrease and the payments on their bonds and mortgages remain as before; they have "figgered" on the freight charges to the seaboard and have realized why their old-time neighbors "back East" received so much more for their labor; then they have clamored for a nearer market. They have seen in the Gulf an export point 500 miles nearer than that of the Atlantic slope. By reason of this shorter haul they think they can thus secure better prices for grain. That is, in

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brief, their argument, and they talk it on the farms, on the street corners, in the prairie towns, and at the schoolhouse "lyceum."

They hoped much when the first railway line was built across the Indian Territory, then a *terra incognita*, but now becoming a rich commonwealth itself. They were encouraged when there were two and three lines; now there are four, and the effect of the new direction in which trade is turning is being felt by the eastern roads. The extent to which the southern ports are grasping the export business may be seen in the corn exports of 1896. The total bushels sent out of the country was 128,518,437, being a gain of 67,100,000 bushels over 1895. Of this gain southern ports made 60,000,000 bushels. New Orleans made a gain of 16,500,000 bushels, and Galveston 5,000,000 bushels. Last year Galveston exported nearly 10,000,000 bushels of grain of all kinds, practically its first appearance on the scene. New Orleans advanced in the same twelvemonth from 9,000,000 to 20,000,000 bushels. The total amount of all exports from all ports of the United States in the first eleven months of 1896 was $888,660,415, an increase of $156,300,000 over the same months of 1895. Of this increase nearly one-half, or $78,600,000, was at southern ports, their gain being 35 per cent., while the gain at all other United States ports was only 15 per cent.

New Orleans has steadily advanced as a corn-exporting point, as has Galveston also. Nearly two-thirds of the corn sent out of the States of Kansas and Nebraska for export is going that way, and these two cities are getting the business that formerly had no choice but to seek the Atlantic seaboard. This is significant, and with the building of new roads from the prairies to the Gulf there is sure to be a further increase in the shipments, proportionately, than in the past.

The one fact that handicaps the southern route at the present time is the fact that the railroads have what they call a "one-way haul." They must, they say, bring back their cars from the Gulf empty, whereas they can on the eastern haul bring them back laden with the product of loom and spindle. There is much truth in this, and the thing that will do more than any other to strengthen the new business alliance between the prairies and the Southwest is the development that is going on in the Southwest in manufacturing. A double flow is the life of traffic. When the Gulf States get the importing houses that are so influential in the business of the East and when the cotton manufactories that are now in the Atlantic States are duplicated in the heart of the cotton-growing region, there will be a change that will make what will be almost a business revolution. It is passing strange that the people of the Southwest, with the need of employment for their increasing population and with the raw material at hand, should send their cotton fifteen hundred miles to the New England States to be turned into cloth and then ship that cloth back again. They are not going to do it much longer. They are realizing the advantages of home industry and all over the great Southwest are going up buildings which will be used to manufacture the cotton that grows at their doors. In the city of Galveston last winter one was attracted by huge signs that were placed in conspicuous places on every thoroughfare, "Patronize Home Industry—Only Texas Capital is Invested in the Manufacture of ————'s Goods." That is the spirit manifested in the South of to-day, and it means that it is able to stand alone and intends to do so at the earliest opportunity. The Western States are willing to join hands with it and are giving their best efforts in that direction. Scarcely a week passes that every paper in the prairie States does

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not say something good for the Gulf outlet, and at the sessions of the Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma legislatures during the past winter this subject attracted more attention than any of the measures before them, except that of railroad freight rates, which after all is closely connected with it.

The rates on grain from Kansas City, the basing point of much of the Western traffic, to the Atlantic sea-board is about 35 cents a hundred pounds. From Kansas City to Chicago it is from 15 to 20 cents. To the Gulf it is 15 cents. The railway haul from the interior of the Northern States to Kansas City and from the terminal points to the interior of Texas made the difference in prices at those points. But for the export trade, on which the price is after all dependent, there is in shipping to Liverpool a railway haul *via* the Atlantic of 1,208 miles; while through the Gulf ports it is only 767 miles. The ocean haul is, of course, the greater, but the freight thereon is so cheap that the difference is altogether to the credit of the Gulf ports. These things are being spread in the minds of the people and of the capitalists and both are becoming so much interested that they will make the new alliance assume proportions that are of the greatest importance to the business of the nation, if they have not already done so.

During the past six years there has been going on an intermingling of the settlers of the two sections. The States of Kansas and Nebraska have lost thousands in population. The lack of rain and the failure of crops have made them discouraged, and they have loaded their belongings into the white-covered "prairie schooners" that, like ships of discoverers, have sailed the plains for a quarter century, and sought the milder climate and the less arid skies of the South. Some have stopped in the newly-opened Indian lands, but many have gone on to the fertile fields of Texas. The ranches of the cattle barons have been cut up into farms and the wild-eyed steer of cattle trail days has given way to the well-bred cow whose milk is furnishing creamery butter to the city markets. Their industry is manifested in the well-tilled fields and the cosey homes that are scattered all over the northern and southwestern portions of the Lone Star State. They have brought into the politics of the commonwealth a different atmosphere and have compelled a greater intimacy between it and the North. Time was, and not so very long ago, when the idea of a joint commission to consider the mutual interests of the States North and South would have been hooted at, yet now it is an accomplished fact and is looked at as most natural.

The effort to build on the plains great cities has thus far been a failure. Outside those situated on the Missouri there are none that can claim the prominence two decades ago predicted of not less than a score of budding municipalities. But with the appearance of a seaport at a distance of only 700 miles what may not happen? The vast and fertile region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains is capable of supporting more than one Buffalo, Cleveland or Cincinnati. If the alliance that is being so rapidly perfected unites, as it bids fair to do, all this magnificent section, we may see this come to pass, with a second Boston on the Gulf besides.

The East has populated and built up the West. Its best young men have "broke" the prairies and made, of the level reaches of sod, farms and orchards. Its capital has caused a growth that has been the wonder of the world. But the emigrants who left the homes in that revered land, "back East"—the dweller on the plains speaks the words with tenderness—who

> "Crossed the prairies as of old
> The Pilgrims crossed the sea,"

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are in different case now. The friends and relatives in the East are thinned by the sickle of time, the debts are being paid off and the relation between the East and West is less one of dependency on the one hand, and of patronage on the other. They are independent empires, each with its own conditions and ambitions. That the West is reaching out for an alliance with the nearer South is because it sees in that action the improvement of its finances and a fairer prospect for the coming years. That such a view is wide-spread, and that it is attracting more attention every day is a striking feature of the present condition of the western development. That it means something more than idle speculation and that it will result in new business and trade relations is scarcely to be doubted. It probably means decreased revenues for the eastern traffic lines and the related industries, but unless the judgment of the West is at fault it means better times for the plains.

The East may as well realize that its child has come to the years of maturity and is acting for itself.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

THE ALLEGED REPEOPLING OF IRELAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW:

DEAR SIR: Pray grant me the freedom of your pages to say a few words regarding some Notes and Comments over Mr. George Bassett's signature, in a recent number of the REVIEW. The subject is the "Repeopling of Ireland," and Mr. Bassett in the beginning remarks that to the stranger it looks as if the island which gave letters to England had been repeopled by Britons, while at the end he reflects that it would be a heart-breaking termination of the struggle if the Home Rule flag should float at last over a thoroughly Anglicized Ireland.

Mr. Bassett cites a number of Saxon and Norman names of Irish-born men distinguished in military, scientific, literary, clerical, and commercial circles, to show that what one may call the original Irishry are, so to speak, "not in it" in their several walks. The license which he takes in buttressing this theory will be gauged when one finds him using such names as Burke, Moore, Sheridan, Fitzgerald, as typical of "those English-speaking people of Ireland friendly to England." But let that pass, though it is worth while to note that the Normans became more Irish than the Irish themselves, and notoriously waste no friendship on England.

Mr. Bassett will be glad, I guess from the tone of his article, to learn that, according to a census recently taken in Ireland, purely Irish names stand far away in point of numbers at the head of the list. Murphys are over 60,000; O'Kellys are between 50,000 and 60,000; O'Sullivans are about the same number. My own name (purely Irish, with bearers of it concentrated to a large extent in one county, Wicklow, on the eastern seaboard, and contiguous to Dublin, the City of the Pale) musters 48,000, and is fifth on the list. I have not the official figures by me, but, as well as I remember, those I put down are, in the main, accurate. The name of Smith—not uncommon—is at the head; and it is well established that a great number of the native Irishry took the names of trades, such as that of Smith, Carpenter, Weaver, Joiner, and so forth, to disguise their race and conceal their religion during the penal days. As a matter of fact, the English settlers (nor the Scotch, apart from some sections of Ulster) have made no appreciably permanent effect on the agricultural population—and Ireland is an agricul-

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tural country. In effect, they become assimilated or extinct after a generation or two. The Jews, to whom Mr. Bassett alludes, never engage in agriculture, and go to Ireland merely as a migratory population, and because, perhaps, they were never persecuted there, and had champions in the Irish agitators and leaders, O'Connell, Butt, and Parnell, who were often their defenders in Parliament and out of it. It is true that in the higher learned circles and in the heavier commerce Saxon and Norman names preponderate in the cities; but throughout the country towns, large and small, the Irish names on the signboards as significantly predominate. Nay, even in Dublin, the greatest brewery in the world was founded by and is still mainly held by the Guinness family, who are MacGinnesses, and claim lineage with the chiefs of the old Northern sept or clan; and as for Cork, the Murphys are the founders and owners of the next biggest brewery in Ireland, while the Mahonys are makers and owners of the famous Blarney tweed factory. Gleesons and others of as truly Irish names are the proprietors of woollen mills in the very heart of the island.

If Mr. Bassett took up the national newspapers he could not have found such a disproportion of Irish to alien advertisers as he found in the conservative organ upon which he pitched. In point of fact it would be much easier for one to prove, on the lines taken by Mr. Bassett, and it would be much nearer the truth, that England has been Celticized by Scotchmen and Irishmen than that Ireland has been Anglicized by England, and certainly America has been more Hibernicized than Anglicized. As for the colonies of French Huguenots, afforded a refuge in such places as Portarlington, or German colonists dumped down here or there, the latter are nowhere and the former hardly count as affecting more than a small locality.

With reference to the Irish language, although it is not widely spoken, it is carefully preserved. There are professorships for Irish in all the considerable colleges in Ireland. It is taught in the Christian Brothers' and other schools, and is an officially recognized subject for marks in the intermediate education system. Besides, space is devoted to it on several newspapers, in some magazines, and it is fostered by conversazione societies in the capital. Mr. Bassett alludes to the fact that a greater number and variety of antique golden articles of a remote past are found in Ireland than in any other country, traces and proofs of its high ancient civilization. The treasure and muniment room of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College Library contain priceless articles of this character, and Irish manuscripts of a rare beauty beyond compare.

In concluding a letter which I did not mean to run to such length, and for which I claim your indulgence, I cannot agree with Mr. Bassett's theory that with a greater number of Irishmen out of Ireland than in Ireland the tendency must be ever to draw the flower of each generation to other lands. The Irishman, unlike his Cousin Scot, returns, or at least means to do so.

Yours faithfully,

EDWARD BYRNE.

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